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ABSTRACT

Research projects produced by educators who traveled to the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic as part of the Fulbright-Hays Seminars Abroad Program are reported in this document. The materials include: Comments on Historical and Social Studies in Czechoslovakia in Transition (Robert Anchor); The State of Education in Czechoslovakia since 1989 (Roman T. Ciapalo); Czechoslovakia in Transition: Macro and Micro Perspectives with Accompanying Slides (Richard Dodder); A Nail, a Lance, and a Large Piece of Wood--The Reliquary Chapel of Charles IV at Karlstein Castle (Laura Rinaldi Dufresne); Psychological Information about Czechoslovakia (Zenaida R. Estrada); The Politics of Passion and the Politics of Rationality: A Comparison of Ethnic Conflict in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia (Mary T. Hanna); Community Organization and Structure in Czechoslovakia (David Kaufman); Goddess Images in Czechoslovakia (Mary B. Kelly); Revolutionary Transformation and the Legacies of the Past: A Slide Lecture on Czechoslovakia in the Summer of 1991 (Katharine Kennedy); Czechoslovakia in Transition (Ronald C. Monticone); The Czech and Slovak Federal Republic: The Promise of Administrative and Academic Exchanges (Mary E. Nilles); Report: Women, Work and Family in the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic: Continuities and Contrasts (Phyllis Hutton Raabe); Czechoslovakia--The Paradoxes of Freedom (Barbara Shovers); and A Czech and Slovak Diary: Notes on a Trip through Czechoslovakia (Henry J. Steck). This Fulbright Seminar Abroad project was slated to go to both Yugoslavia and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. However, due to civil unrest in Yugoslavia, that portion of the seminar was canceled and the participants spent three additional weeks in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. (DB)

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Compendium of Research Projects for 1991 Fulbright-Hays Seminars Abroad Program

Yugoslavia and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic in Transition

June 22-24, 1991

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Research Projects in this Compendium Include:

Comments on Historical and Social Studies in Czechoslovakia in Transition
    Robert Anchor, School of Arts & Sciences, National University

The State of Education in Czechoslovakia since 1989
    Roman T. Ciapalo, Ph.D., Loras College

Czechoslovakia in Transition: Macro and Micro Perspectives with Accompanying Slides
    Richard Dodder, Department of Sociology, Oklahoma State University

A Nail, A Lance and A Large Piece of Wood - The Reliquary Chapel of Charles IV at Karlstejn Castle
    Laura Rinaldi Dufresne, Assistant Professor of Art History, Winthrop College

Psychological Information about Czechoslovakia
    Zenaida R. Estrada, University of Hawaii

The Politics of Passion and the Politics of Rationality: A Comparison of Ethnic Conflict in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia
    Mary T. Hanna, Whitman College

Community Organization and Structure in Czechoslovakia
    David Kaufman, Department of Sociology, Central Washington University

Goddess Images in Czechoslovakia
    Mary B. Kelly, Tompkins Cortland Community College

Revolutionary Transformation and the Legacies of the Past: A Slide Lecture on Czechoslovakia in the Summer of 1991
    Katharine Kennedy, Agnes Scott College

Czechoslovakia in Transition
    Ronald C. Monticone, Queensborough Community College

The Czech and Slovak Federal Republic: The Promise of Administrative and Academic Exchanges
    Mary E. Nilles, New York City Technical College

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Czechoslovakia -- The Paradoxes of Freedom
    Barbara Shovers
    Chandler-Gilbert Community College

A Czech and Slovak Diary: Notes on a Trip through Czechoslovakia
    Henry J. Steck, Department of Political Science, Cortland College

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COMMENTS ON HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL STUDIES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN TRANSITION

by

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My original purpose in participating in the seminar on Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia in transition was to understand better the momentous changes taking place in Central and Eastern Europe and their implications for the rest of Europe and the world. I am particularly interested in educational and cultural reform, especially in the area of historical and social studies. I had hoped to learn from scholars, educators, and public officials in these countries the content of history and social science courses taught at both the secondary and university levels, the methodologies they favor, how they deal with ethnic and cultural diversity in their educational systems, how they react to foreign scholarship, and what approaches and perspectives they would recommend for teaching about their countries in American schools and universities. I was especially interested in comparing the historical profession in a formerly communist country (Czechoslovakia), which lay within the Soviet bloc during the Cold War years, with the one communist country in Europe (Yugoslavia), which managed to remain independent of the Soviet Union during that time. Regrettably, the outbreak of civil war in Yugoslavia shortly after our arrival in Europe prevented us from visiting that troubled country and caused me to revise my original plan.

Nevertheless, I learned a great deal about Czechoslovakia and its political, social, and cultural life. For one thing, I learned, or at least came away with the distinct impression, that there is no Czechoslovakia -- that is, that people there do not consider themselves as belonging to a common historical, political, or cultural community. I did not meet a single person who identified himself or herself as a Czechoslovakian. Rather, the people I met identified themselves as Czechs or Slovaks (or Moravians or Gypsies or Hungarians, etc.). (And the same would seem to be true of Yugoslavia, to an even greater extent). During the three weeks or so we spent in Slovakia, I did not see or hear a single reference to Bohemia (the Czech lands); and during the three weeks or so we spent in Bohemia, I saw and heard little of Slovakia. When, for example, I asked Slovaks what they thought of Milan Kundera (probably the best known contemporary Czech writer in the West), the typical response was: "Kundera? He's a Czech!" (the implication being that he might as well be a Martian). And when I put the same question to Czechs, the typical answer was: "Oh, he's been living abroad (in France) for the last twenty years." This anecdotal episode spoke volumes to me about the unstable sense of national identity in the country.

Secondly, I learned about the tragic consequences of more than forty years of isolation of the educational system of Czechoslovakia from the West and its forced Sovetization. On one thing educators throughout the country seem to agree: that their educational system must be de-Sovietized as quickly as possible and reconstructed almost from scratch -- a task, they insist (probably correctly), that can only be carried out with massive aid from the West.

But reconstructed how? In Slovakia especially, historians and social scientists are busy rejecting Marxist scholarship and Soviet educational practices and reviving interest in Slovak history and culture. However, due to their long-standing limited access to Western scholarship, they must continue, for the time being anyway, to restrict themselves largely to microhistory and local archival research, as is evident in the work of such bright young scholars as Eva Kowalska and Vladislav Rudzicka. But even as they gain access to Western scholarship, it seems clear that Slovak historical studies and educational reform will continue to feature Slovak nationalism and cultural identity.

This trend is evident as well in the work of the Institute for Social Analysis (ISA) at Comenius University in Bratislava, founded in 1990, whose principal aim is to monitor and analyze the problems of Slovak society in transition. The ISA, as well as other similar institutes springing up throughout Slovakia, focus on the relationship between the development of social problems and political change in Slovakia. The aims of the ISA are: (1) to record the specificities of the transition of Slovakia from totalitarianism to democracy, comparing Slovakia's transition with analogical processes taking place in Bohemia and in other Central European countries; (2) to present its findings to local and national decision-making bodies and provide feedback about the social impact of political decisions; and (3) to promote public discussion about topical social issues and to cultivate social consciousness.

One of the major research projects undertaken by the ISA in 1990 was a study of the tensions in relations between Slovaks and Czechs and between Slovaks and the Hungarian national minority residing in Slovakia. Another is a study of the potential of Slovakia to move from Soviet-style socialism to a pluralistic democracy and a market economy. Other projects underway include a long-term content analysis of the Slovakian press and a study of the political effects of the economic transformation of Slovak society.

Similar research is being done at the recently reconstructed Institute for Philosophy of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Prague. The most urgent tasks of this Institute are: (1) to reinstate at least some of the qualified researchers who had been forced to leave the Institute on political grounds; (2)to admit new qualified researchers to the Institute, regardless of their political orientation; (3)to revive critical thinking as the Institute's primary social function; (4) to uphold genuine philosophical thought and discourse; (5) to contribute to the regeneration of national identity; and (6) to set the stage for the return of Czechoslovakian philosophical culture to the fold of European thought. Among its educational activities, the Institute has created The European Centre for Leisure and Education, which, in conjunction with UNESCO, is concentrating on a project entitled "The Philosophy of Education in the Twenty-First Century."

My discussions with members of both Institutes, and with faculty of many of the country's provincial colleges, universities, and secondary schools, were most illuminating -- not only because of the significant insights and information they provided about Czechoslovakia in transition, but also because they deepened my understanding of analogical developments taking place, mutatis mutandis, in American education. As vastly different as the two countries are in many respects, one concern they have in common is how education and research can foster ethnic and cultural diversity within a unified constitutional framework. If present trends continue, it is conceivable that Slovakia may eventually achieve almost complete autonomy from Prague -- with consequences as yet difficult to foretell. But the situation in Czechoslovakia -- and in most of Eastern Europe, as well as the disintegrating Soviet Union -- points up the urgency of coming to grips with the issue in the American educational system. A comparative approach to this issue is something I am in the process of introducing into my research and into the curriculum of my university.

1991 Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar
"Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia in Transition"

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Research Project

The State of Education in Czechoslovakia since 1989

In this report I shall outline the principal features of the educational system in the Czech and Slovak republics, with special emphasis on how it has changed since the "Velvet Revolution" of 1989. (Although there are some differences between the Czech and Slovak systems, they are largely nominal and shall be noted where appropriate and relevant. Accordingly, I shall use the word "Czechoslovakia" throughout this report to refer to the two republics combined.)

I shall organize my remarks around five levels of the educational system: 1) JASLE ŠKOLA (i.e., nursery school), 2) MATERSKA ŠKOLA (i.e., kindergarten), 3) ZAKLADNA ŠKOLA (i.e., grammar school), 4) STREDNA ŠKOLA (i.e., high school), and 5) UNIVERZITA (i.e., university).

The education of the Czechoslovakian child generally begins at the age of six months, when he or she enters jasle škola (which in the U.S. would be called nursery school or simply pre-school). The child continues at this level until he or she is three (or sometimes four) years old. The activities at this level are, of course, quite simple and basic, consisting mostly of playing games, partaking in meals, and taking naps. In

Czechoslovak society this level of "education" permits the parents, principally the mother, of the child to engage in other meaningful and necessary activities, such as full-time employment.

From ages three (or four) to six the child attends materska škola (kindergarten in the U.S.) in which he or she participates in a program of activities that provides a fundamental orientation for all further schooling. The activities are not unlike those engaged in by U.S. students, namely, activities which develop manipulative skill, motor coordination, and basic social awareness. Generally, the students play a variety of games, go on field trips, partake in meals, and take a nap in the afternoon.

This level of schooling is optional, but if the child's mother has a job, then the child usually attends such a school primarily out of practical necessity. The schedule of the school is usually set up to coincide with the traditional workday hours (i.e., 7:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.) of the parents, especially the mother. (What is obvious, even in 1991, is that it is the mother's responsibility primarily to raise the children in the family.) Finally, at the present moment, such schooling is entirely state supported, but in the near future it is anticipated that parents will be expected to pay for some portion of its costs.

From age six (or seven, depending on the level of the student's intellectual development) to age fifteen, the student attends zakladni škola (called zakladna škola in Slovakia). This level is the equivalent of what in the U.S. would be considered elementary school. The student ordinarily attends school at this level for eight years, but a ninth year is an available option, if it appears necessary. After the zakladni škola level, no additional schooling is required of the student.

It is on the next level of schooling, generically referred to as stredni škola (stredna škola in Slovakia), that some of the unique and very interesting dimensions of the Czechoslovakian educational system manifest themselves. There are at least three different "tracks" that are available to the student at this level of his or her schooling. The first and most rigorous of these is the gymnazium. This is the university preparatory track and corresponds to the U.S. "college prep" secondary school. The other two tracks, odborne stredni škola and učnovske učiliste , are the professional preparation or trade school tracks.

The gymnazium track is one which ordinarily lasts four years, although some students may attend longer, depending on their abilities. Acceptance into this type of school is by no means automatic, since a difficult entrance examination must be passed. A diploma is normally awarded at the end of the course of studies. The typical curriculum is quite comprehensive and intense, and consists of the following mandatory areas of study, each lasting all four years.

1. Mathematics

2. Physics
3. Chemistry
4. Russian Language
5. One additional language (student's choice): English, French, Spanish, or German
6. Czechoslovakian Literature
7. *Občanska nauka* (i.e., civics), which involved the study of Marxism and incorporated the disciplines of philosophy, political thought (i.e., socialist thought), and economics
8. History, both of Czechoslovakia and the world
9. Physical education, consisting of some theory courses and involving primarily a variety of physical activities, such as running, gymnastics, etc.
10. Students could also choose, if they wished, the following additional courses:
    a. *chemicke*, a more practical approach to chemistry, involving theory and practice (lab work), intended to prepare the student for specialized work in breweries,dairy farms, paint factories and the like.
    b. *strojerenstvi*, a more practical approach to engineering, intended as a preparation for work in various factories requiring such a skill.

Two observations are appropriate at this point. First, it is not only at the *gymnazium* level that students were required to learn the Russian language, but also at more elementary levels of their education as well. It was not uncommon for students in Czechoslovakia to begin their study of the Russian language as early as age ten. Second, although it is not surprising that no religious education appeared in any of the curricula of the Czechoslovak system, what is surprising is the extent to which students who professed to have any sort of religious faith or affiliation were penalized. It was not unusual for a student who admitted to being "religious" to any extent or in any way to be dismissed from *gymnazium* and relegated to the further pursuit of his or her studies at one of the many professional or trade schools in the country. In effect, these students were excluded from certain significant professions, such as teaching.

As was noted earlier, not all students qualified for the *gymnazium*. In fact, only a small percentage of the students in Czechoslovakia are admitted into this secondary school track. The vast majority of students attend instead one of the other two types of secondary schools: *odborne stredni škola* (*odborne stredna škola* in Slovakia) and *učnovske učiliste*.

The *odborne stredni škola* is available to those who either do not qualify for *gymnazium* or prefer to pursue a course of studies which will prepare them for a particular profession or trade. Such schools generally award a diploma at the end of the course of studies, which normally lasts four years. There are many such schools throughout Czechoslovakia, among them the following.

1. *zdravotni*: nursing school, which may be attended by both men and women. However, nursing is a profession populated almost exclusively by women.
2. *ekonomicka*: a school for secretaries and tour guides.
3. *jazykova*: a variety of special schools specializing in foreign languages.
4. *technicke*: a school focusing on television and radio repair.
5. *hotelova*: a hotel school, focusing on training waiters, waitresses, cooks, and others who work in restaurants and hotels.
6. *umelecka prumyšlova*: a school of design.

The second alternative to *gymnazium* is *učnovske učiliste*, a lower level school than the two described already. This school awards no diploma and the typical course of studies lasts only three years. The prominent types of schools are as follows.

1. *zemedelske*: a school of agriculture, focusing on the practical and more menial agricultural skills, such as tractor and farm machinery repair, etc.
2. *kadernice*: a school for hair stylists and barbers.
3. *prodavač*: a school for sales attendants and shopkeepers.
4. *kuchaš*: a school for cooks (i.e., what in the U.S. would

be called "short order" cooks).

5. *čisnik* (*časnik* in Slovakia): a school for waiters and busboys.

In addition to the three secondary school tracks mentioned above, a fourth track is available at this level of study, namely, *stredni večerni škola*, a night school for those seeking to learn a trade or profession. Primarily of the *ekonomicka* and *technicka* types described earlier, these curricula last approximately four years and are usually attended by non-traditional age students.

Those students who pursue the *gymnazium* course of studies, unlike those who qualify only for one of the other secondary school tracks described above, go on to *univerzita* for their post-secondary education. The Czechoslovakian equivalent of the university system is in many ways similar to the system in the U.S., although it is much more selective and generally more demanding.

The typical Czechoslovak university (e.g., Charles University in Prague, Comenius University in Bratislava) is a complex of faculties (i.e., the equivalent of "colleges" in a university in the U.S.), each of which has its own curriculum, requirements, and professors and graduate teaching assistants. Among the standard faculties would be the following:

1. arts - composed of the departments of languages (typically consisting of English, Spanish, French, Italian, Czech, German, Greek, and Latin), sociology, philosophy, modern

and ancient history, aesthetics, and political science (although this last area represents a very recent development, since under the pre-1989 regime there was no such thing as "political science" understood apart from the study of Marxism or socialism exclusively).

2. science - composed of the departments of physics, chemistry, and biology, typically.
3. medicine
4. law
5. education - composed of departments devoted to each level of education.
6. economics - this represents another innovation within the Czech educational system, since under the pre-1989 regime "economics" was identified and coterminous with the theory of socialism solely. "Economics" is now understood in a way consonant with the Western interpretation of the term.

Although the above list of faculties is not complete it is fairly representative of the sorts of areas of study that the typical gymnazium in Czechoslovakia offers. There are some differences among the various Czech universities which may be worth noting here. First, at some universities (e.g., Comenius University in Bratislava) the faculty of arts is also called the Philosophical faculty, and comprises some 28 departments (e.g., sociology, philosophy, political science, etc.). Second, at some universities there are separate faculties for the natural sciences and for mathematics and physics, as well as for physical education. Similarly, medical faculties are frequently divided up in various ways. Third, there are now springing up various specialized faculties, depending upon the availability of qualified professors, in such areas as international relations, social analysis, American studies, Catholic theology, Protestant theology, and management.

So far as the curriculum is concerned, there are two fundamental differences between the Czech system and the U.S. system. First, the student is expected to study in a much more specialized way than in the U.S. Although there are the equivalent of "general education" requirements, the Czech university student devotes a considerable amount of time to his or her "major" (as compared to the U.S. student). Second, the typical degree earned at the end of the student's career (lasting approximately five years) is the master's degree. A thesis is usually required as a part of the degree work. If a student wishes to go on for the Ph.D., approximately three more years of study are required.

It is worth noting, however, that there is currently a new program of studies being developed. Under this new system the student would receive his or her bachelor's degree after the first two years of university work, then would go on for an additional three years to earn a master's degree. Three more years of study would usually be required to obtain the Ph.D. degree.

Concluding Observations

The examination of the educational system of Czechoslovakia warrants a variety of conclusions. The most prominent of them are the following. Regarding the secondary school system, the following points are significant.

a. The focus on Russian language and culture has been diminished significantly. By no longer requiring all students to study this area to the exclusion of others, a significant curricular equilibrium has been achieved. The study of Russian language and culture has now been relegated to its proper place in the schools, namely, as one alternative, among many, which the students may choose.

b. The focus on Marxism and socialism has experienced a similar diminution. Civics, or political science, is no longer identified with this narrow perspective and theory. This change has produced a much more healthy and pedagogically sound atmosphere in the institutions. The students are now able to see the spectrum of political and economic theories and, hence, are able to make comparisons and evaluations which were not possible previously.

With respect to the university level, the following points appear as significant.

a. Czechoslovakian universities are slowly but definitely making the transition from institutions of indoctrination (as one Safarik University professor put it) to institutions of genuine higher learning, where academic freedom and the unfettered pursuit of knowledge are possible.

b. The faculty members of the universities are trying vigorously to become acquainted with what has been happening for the last several decades intellectually. Their intellectual isolation from the West, and from all significant intellectual developments in general, was almost total. They are busy trying to fill the gaps in their respective areas of expertise and research.

c. There has been a general weaning of Russian and Marxist influences from the curriculum. In fact, the pendulum seems to have swung quite far in the other direction. The English language is favored quite strongly now, while Russian has fallen into disfavor, with virtually no students pursuing study in this area.

Finally, the following general features of the Czechoslovakian education system seem worthy of note.

a. Although education is currently free, this practice will not continue for very much longer. The need for the citizens of Czechoslovakia to bear a greater share of the costs of education, as well as of many other social services, is increasing. This will no doubt cause a significant amount of difficulty to a populace accustomed to having everything provided for them at no cost. The transition in this area of Czech society will be a painful one.

b. The status of teachers in general, and of university professors in particular, is quite low currently. This attitude has been prevalent since the Second World War and has been characterized primarily by the view that teachers were merely the servants of a communist system whose status it was their chief duty to explain and defend. This uncharacteristically low status of the teaching profession is reflected in their relatively low pay as well. This unfortunate state of affairs will, in time, change. Such a reinstatement of this profession to its proper place in Czech society will, of course, go a long way to restoring the proper balance among the various professions in that society.

c. On every level of the educational system there exists a profound lack of the funds and resources necessary to provide students with an adequate education. The solution to this problem is obvious. Nothing short of a comprehensive aid program from the West will be adequate. There is little question about the importance of education to the proper functioning of a society. Waking the Czech educational system out of its slumber would constitute a significant step in the right direction.

d. There seems to be a return to a dimension of the curriculum that has been missing for some time, namely, the ethical or transcendent dimension. This trend in evident in such changes as the reinstatement of the study of religion in the primary and secondary schools, the re-establishment of private, religiously affiliated schools, and the reappearance of courses in ethics in the universities. Such a trend is significant not only because it is pedagogically sound, but also because it will contribute significantly to the elevation of the moral and spiritual values of the population.

e. The growth in awareness of the importance of making available opportunities for more women to enter the teaching profession is obvious and laudable. For too long in Czech society women have been forcibly relegated to the role of principal parent and full-time employee (in professions other than teaching) solely.

Czechoslovakia in Transition:
Macro and Micro Perspectives with Accompanying Slides from the Summer of '91

A Project to Fulfill the Requirements
for the Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminars Abroad Program

by

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October, 1991

In the summer of 1991, I spent six weeks in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic (CSFR) as one of sixteen participants in a Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar. During this time, we traveled extensively throughout all three Republics: Slovakia whose capital is Bratislava where our journey began, through Moravia including Brno, its capital, and ending in Prague, the capital of both Bohemia and the Federal Reupblic. Our trip focused on interviews in 34 cities with mayors, vice-mayors, city council members, and local citizens from a variety of walks of life. In addition, we interviewed federal government officials, most of the cabinet ministers, supreme court judges, agency heads, agricultural planners, university professors, political party leaders, national research directors, and religious leaders.

Following an insight by Ralf Dahrendorf in his recent reflections on the 1989 revolution in Eastern Europe, I will report my experiences from the summer of 1991 in three categories of transitional processes: economic (which will focus on processes of transformation to a free market economy), social (which will focus on processes of transformation to a social contract), and political (which focuses on the transformation to democratic political processes). Coordinated with this text are slides, recorded Czech and Slovak music, and displays of folk art and literature collected during the trip.

ECONOMIC PROCESSES

After World War II (1948), nationalization first occurred with large facilities (electricity, mining), followed by smaller operations (factories and businesses with more than 50 employees), and finally in 1968 all remaining businesses, including rental properties, were nationalized. By November of 1991, all persons who live in and are citizens of the CSFR who seek to reclaim their losses through nationalization must register their claim. Both large and small privatization (over and under 50 employees) have many government regulations for those seeking to reclaim property which involves such things as damages or improvements made over the last 40 years, debts, rights of employees, and rights of residents. Vouchers will also be issued so that for less than one month's salary citizens may pick up shares in a company. About 40% of the businesses are expected to be privatized by vouchers. Vouchers not picked up by citizens can be purchased by foreigners, and businesses with no former owners filing claims will be auctioned. Most of the people I talked with, however, were not planning to pick up vouchers because they believe that those businesses which will be offered through vouchers are those which will eventually go bankrupt.

Residents are also frequently unsure whether to reclaim former properties. Farms and other food connected operations must remain food connected for three years, which people say means they would have to give up their residences in the cities and return to farming. Residents also ask why they should want to own their housing since they believe that the costs of owning will be more expensive than renting. Additionally, they expect to live where they are as long as they want; and then their children will also have the right to live there whether they own the property or not.

The government requires that wages can only increase by the percentage projected for the inflation rate. For 1991, this rate was projected to be about 30%, but inflation had already gone beyond 30% by July. Consequently, wages were not rising fast enough to keep up with rising costs. Local people commonly reported that there were more jobs, more money, more commodities, and a better standard of living before the Velvet Revolution in 1989. Now they have to pay for everything, and some commodities, especially meat, cost about 200% more. But they are not watched anymore, and few suggested any desire to return to "the good old days".

One-third of Skoda, the major car manufacturer, is now owned by Volkswagon. Officials say that Volkswagon will never own more then 50% and that vouchers for employees will be a major force. Currently, there are two shifts of workers, and the government also sets the price for a car sold within the CSFR for zero profit. But profit is reported to be good in the foreign market. Plans are to produce more cars for the foreign market; Czechs don't need cars, they said, and can't afford them anyway. The Czechs, however, frequently reported that they have the 140,000 Kcs. for a Skoda and have been on the waiting list for many years but that the cars are sold overseas for profit instead. An old joke is that a Skoda is a three generation car: one generation is on a waiting list, the next generation pays for it, and the third generation repairs it.

Government officials expressed concern over a rising unemployment rate of 2-6% (there had been complete employment during communism) and that jobs would not pay enough to make expenses. Currently there are a lot of manual jobs available, and locals report there is a much better job market for those taking vocational options at the high school level than for academic routes and college graduates. Unemployment, however, is bound to rise for this group with increased mechanization including modern technology, communications, and electronics.

I discovered, however, that most Czechs worked more than one job. Most had a government job (and therefore had insurance and other benefits) but wanted a job that required as few hours as possible or that allowed as much free time as possible so that they could engage in other kinds of work with would not have an "official wage" attached (e.g., tutoring, waiting tables, guiding tourists, selling art work or produce, driving a cab).

SOCIAL PROCESSES

With a history of national identity since the eighth century, a foundation for collectivity exists. Nowhere is this more evident than in the pride the country takes in its historical monuments. Restoration is in progress everywhere, particularly churches, castles, palaces, and government buildings. With communism, very little money had apparently been available for repair. But now scaffolding can be seen in every village, and restoration is a major line item in all 34 village budgets. I believe more people are employed by the government for restoration than any other department. Within two years, almost every village has had its town square rebuilt or repaired, and most intend to build a thriving trade from tourism and show the world their proud heritage. Virtually nothing remains that would be a visible reminder of the Russian occupation--except for the Russian Othodox churches, a few monuments commemorating the liberation from Nazi occupation, and a memorial for the Russian physicians who came to stop the spread of disease at the concentration camps.

The director of a local juvenile delinquency prevention center told me that the major problem facing the CSFR was that people did not know how to make choices. For 40 years a whole generation grew up with communism, and there is no source for teaching youth how to make decisions. How, she asked, will youth be able to resist drugs, crime, and a whole gamut of acitivites virtually unknown in the CSFR for the last 40 years. The main reason for the lack of drug use now is that few can afford drugs. In addition, she said, the divorce rate in the CSFR is approaching that of the West.

There is evidence, however, that the family structure is quite strong as a source of moral development. Students that I met reported that they typically lived with their parents, even after getting married. In fact, it appeared that the timing of the marriage coincided with the availability of a room in one of the parents' houses. The newly married couple then pays an amount of money for room and board and helps out with the work around the house as well.

In addition, there are traditional religious values in evidence. Although the Catholic church continued to exist during communism, there had been no religious training (even of priests) and church services in many villages were severely curtailed. A priest was sent to every parish at least once a week during this time. But since the Revolution of '89, the Catholic church has reasserted itself and been a major force in the revitalization of community life. About 75% of the people are Catholic. In addition to the reintroduction of morality into education, especially private education, the Catholic church is in the center of restoration activities, social services for the less fortunate, and community-wide events. The Catholic church, however, became a political party as well. Many citizens believed this was a mistake as they thought the church should provide moral, not political, leadership. Educators reported that the church was overstepping its role and that education should remain secular. Others expressed concern for the tolerance of alternative religious beliefs and practices, particularly for Protestant and Jewish.

Of course folk festivals continued throughout the years of communism and are especially vibrant today. They continue to provide a media for expressing a collective conscience and ethnic identity from hundreds of years of history. Typically held on weekends in small villages, these festivals inspire people of all ages to dress in the historical costumes of their native villages and drink, sing, and dance to rhythms from their ethnic heritage. Folk art is in abundance as well. Law enforcement is conspicuously absent.

Other evidence of a fundamental social contract includes the tank factory at Dubnica. During communism, tanks had been produced here and sold to the USSR. But in 1989, there was suddenly no market. Soon, however, a new customer emerged--Iraq. After much discussion, the people decided they would not sell to Iraq. The factory therefore closed with people having to move elsewhere for jobs. Dubnica became a ghost town; and thousands of tanks are unsold.

In 1989, the workers at the Pilsner brewery created a trade union and elected their own foremen and managers. Now they say those who work hard and are fair in personnel decisions and are the best fitted for the job are in charge. But there are now fewer employees at Pilsner. The elected union leader told us that they had to fire some employees because there had been too many employees under communism where everyone was employed regardless of the amount of work. Now, he says, there will be rationality and complete worker support for actions taken.

Due to the current economic situation, the mass transit systems are running without personnel at the turnstiles. Instead, the transit authority has hired a few people who travel around the country and make random checks of passengers to make sure that they have the proper tickets. People told me that there is a modest fine if one is caught riding without the proper tickets (100 Kcs.). Tickets are also relatively inexpensive (1,000 Kcs./year). Twice I experienced a checker on a mass transit, and both times everyone checked had the proper tickets, even though the fine could hardly be considered stiff enough to serve as a deterrent.

Currently there are really few legal imperatives. Until a new constitution is written and ratified, the only real basis for legal enforcement is what existed with communism--although police are now forbidden to use guns. Yet crime is still relatively low (and usually blamed on a few Gypsies). Store owners frequently leave their cash registers open while they go to the back room to find some merchandise, and there are absolutely no attempts to prevent shop lifting (and no apparent need to do so).

While there are rumors about stiff penalties for drunken driving, no one seems to know of anyone who has been involved in such; and there appears to be very little drunken driving. The efficient mass transit systems and the relatively few private cars somewhat control this phenomenon. But on those occasions where I was with local people for a meal, a wedding, or a meeting, those persons who were going to be driving had not so much as a single drink.

POLITICAL PROCESSES

With the sudden demise of communism, elections and their structure became paramount. Each political region essentially formulated its own election plans with considerable input from almost every citizen. In some regions, over 30 political parties were registered (although only about 6-7 viable ones at the federal level) and both primary and general elections were held at the local, republic (Czech and Slovak), and federal levels. All political parties agree on many issues; for example all agree on changing from state to private ownership but have varying views on a time table and on particular facets of how to do it. Most local people say that party platforms are the same and one must vote for the person.

A committee from the Federal Parliament has been appointed to rewrite the constitution (using documents preceding communism). Members of this committee are proceeding slowly and are determined to include everyone's opinion on everything. All agree that the Velvet Revolution was centered on self-governance and freedom of speech. Virtually everyone interviewed said that they now had a good President and good officials who were freely elected; so things could never get too bad.

A Slovak Separatist party, however, garnered sufficient votes to get a referendum vote on independence for the two Republics. This referendum received only 22% of the vote in

Slovakia and 10% in the Czech lands. Nevertheless, there is considerable sentiment throughout Slovakia that Slovaks are not regarded as equals and not given a fair shake in the Federation.

Another group forming a political party with a separatist agenda is the Gypsies or Romns as they prefer to be called. They claim to have 600,000 to 700,000 members among the 15 million citizens of the CSFR and also claim Moravia to be their homeland. Romns are frequently blamed for whatever seems to be the problem at the moment and are fearful of a sovereign Slovakia where they report greater discrimination and unemployment. The Romns were able to elect two representatives to the Slovak Parliament, six to the Czech Parliament, and two to the Federal Parliament. They are particularly interested in having a Bill of Rights which extends rights to minorities and access to programs, particularly educational, vocational, and welfare.

The Communist party is not outlawed and received more than 30% of the votes in some areas. Party leaders reported that communism itself was not the problem but the Russian mismanagement of everything; i.e., there was no rational connection of debits and credits. For example, everyone got two weeks of pre-paid vacation and traveled to resort areas to stay at grand hotels at low costs. But there was no management plan for money needed for upkeep of the resorts, and they quickly deteriorated. Previous members of the Communist party have gotten involved in trade unions and other management positions and wonder how·services which were provided by communism are going to be paid for in a free market economy. Housing for the elderly, for example, is going to have to be paid for now; but at least one generation will not have had the opportunity to accumulate sufficient wealth for such expenses.

Probably the most difficult problem which must be dealt with here is ethnic identity. Not only are the Russians disliked, but also the Germans, Hungarians, Austrians, Jews, Poles, Gypsies, Czechs/Slovaks, and the list could go on indefinitely depending on which ethnic group is being discussed. The Nazis and World War II, of course, are still vividly remembered. That the Hungarians controlled the region for over a thousand years is also well remembered, and the Slovaks particularly claim that the Hungarians intended to destroy the Slovak culture and identity. Now the President of Hungary declares himself to be President of all Hungarians, many of whom live outside of Hungary's political boundaries. In addition, a recent poll in Russia revealed that nine of ten respondents believed that Jews should get out of the country. The civil war currently being waged in nearby Yugoslavia also attests to the extremes to which ethnic identification can be carried. People kept asking me how we get along so well in American where there are so many different religions, races, and ethnic groups. Of course we don't get along nearly so amicably as they perceive. The answer to this age-old problem, it seems, has evaded both of us.

A NAIL, A LANCE AND A LARGE PIECE OF WOOD

The Reliquary Chapel of Charles IV at Karlštejn Castle

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Report for Fulbright-Hays Seminar Abroad
"Czechoslovakia in Transition" 1991

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THE EMPEROR CHARLES IV AND PRAGUE

> We found this kingdom so neglected that on our travels we met with no castle which had not been mortgaged, and all its crown lands with it, so that there was no choice but to lodge in a house in town, like any other citizen. Worst of all, the castle in Prague, deserted since the time of King Ottokar, had fallen into such rubble and ruin that it was beyond repair. We therefore caused to be built at great expense a fine new palace, the palace men see there today.
>
> Emperor Charles IV
> Vita Caroli 14th century

In his effort to beautify Prague and environs Charles IV embarked on one of the most ambitious building campaigns of the Middle Ages. He established the University of Prague, twenty-four religious houses, hospitals, castles and churches and was one of the first European monarchs to rebuild a city with a single overall conception in mind. His own one-story residence in Prague was built after the palace of the French king, with living rooms, a banqueting hall and a palace chapel. He built the magnificent Karlštejn castle outside of Prague not only to act as a royal residence, but as a stronghold for the safekeeping of the imperial regalia. Charles improved highways and trade routes, and encouraged sheep farming and the cultivation of wine in an effort to stimulate the economy. In 1355 he was crowned Holy Roman Emperor, and thereby increased the number of his excursions outside of Bohemia - particularly to Paris, Metz, Nuremberg and all parts of italy.

In a desire to encourage Prague's "internationalism" and strengthen its ties with the rest of Europe Charles had his university divided into four parts: Bohemian, Bavarian, Italian and Saxon, each having a vote in the system. "The fame of the emperor" wrote Charles "arises from the variety of customs, ways of life and language found in the variety of nations which compose it, and it requires laws, and a form of government which pays heed to this variety."[1] He brought Petrarch of Italy, and a variety of artists and architects such as Peter Parler, Matthais of Arras and even Tommaso da Modena back to his capital city of Prague, which he hoped to make one of the most beautiful cities in Europe.

Charles was raised at the French court of his uncle King Charles V. He had Pierre de Rosieres as his tutor - the future Pope Clement VI - described by Petrarch as "the most learned man in Europe."[2] Charles took as the first of his four wives his cousin and the king's niece Blanche of Valois in 1330. His father, King John of Bohemia, was a staunch supporter of France describing its court "as the most chivalric sojourn in all the world."[3] Although blinded in an earlier battle King John had himself tied to his saddle and guided into the area of heaviest battle at Picardy, where he died "gloriously like the heroes of Lancelot" for his beloved French allies.[4]

Court life in Prague under Charles took its cue from Paris, though it was by no means a mere imitation of French society. At the very least, the international court established at this Czech city, the new capital of the Holy Roman empire, helped spread the French and Italian gothic aesthetic throughout central Europe. The genius loci of Bohemian art was very rich and unique in spite of the powerful stream of Italianisms flooding northward. In fact, Erwin Panofsky writes that aside from the church, Paris and Prague were the greatest art centers of the fourteenth century:

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[1] Charles as quoted by Heer, Frederich The Holy Roman Empire (New York: Praeger) 1968 p. 116.

[2] Petrarch as quoted by Groveland, Gerald The Emperor Charles IV (Oxford: Blackwell) 1924 p. 7.

[3] Duby, Georges The Foundation of a New Humanism (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing) 1966 p. 32.

[4] Tuchman, Barbara A Distant Mirror (New York: Knopf) 1978 p. 20.

> There were only two countries where the Trecento influence on painting...operated as a pervasive force stimulating and guiding rather than interrupting or impeding the growth of an indigenous style. These two countries - which thus developed into secondary centers of dispersion, transmitting a kind of predigested Italianism to wherever the Trecento style could not take root by direct assimilation, including the British Isles - were Bohemia and France.[5]

Under Charles IV and his son Wenceslas IV the International Gothic style achieved one of its most remarkable manifestations. At the same time a fusion between French and Italian styles was taking place at the papal court of Avignon. The Bohemian version of the Gothic style, under the caring and tasteful guidance of Charles IV would bloom brilliantly throughout the remainder of the century; however it would be completely stopped short in the next century by the bitter Hussite wars in Bohemia.

BOHEMIAN PAINTING BEFORE CHARLES IV

The Bohemian style of painting before the patronage of Charles IV reflects some outside influences, for in the 1320's the Knights Templars as well as many monks from western Europe settled in Prague, bringing with them a number of French manuscripts. Queen Elizabeth Rejcka, widow of King Wenceslas III and Rudolph I, commissioned nine manuscripts in 1315 and presented them to the Cistercian abbey which she had founded. These manuscripts are a mixture of various influences exhibiting the Czech painters desire to master French and Italian innovations. A more impressive early manuscript in the true Bohemian manner, unfinished, was made for the Benedictine Abbess Kunigunde, a member of the Czech royal family.

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[5] Panofsky, Erwin Early Netherlandish Painting (Harvard Univ. Press) 1953 p. 26.

The Passional of Abbess Kunigunde consists of colored drawings accompanying a mystical text written by the Dominican visionary Kölda of Koldice. The manuscript was illuminated between 1312-1321. (fig. 1) The distinct, lyrical mysticism evident in this depiction of the mourning Madonna illustrates a characteristic of Bohemian art without parallel in France at this time. Bohemian emotionalism was but one many of the local idioms which would be encouraged by Charles IV who, in spite of his sophisticated Parisian tastes, had great respect for local Czech traditions. He sponsored many more Czech artists than the few prominent masters he brought in from outside Bohemia.[6] The rhythmic linearity of this Madonna, which has something of the quality of a devotional image, still manages to express the volume of her body beneath her robe. Emotion is elegantly delineated in her wide almond shaped eyes as she bends her head to wipe away a tear with elongated, boneless fingers. In addition to exhibiting an indigenous taste for mysticism, this work also displays the crimped veil unique to Bohemia and Hungary, as seen in the sculpted portrait by Peter Parler of Elizabeth Premyslidin, mother of Charles IV, located in the triforium of St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague. (fig. 2)

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[6] Cuttler, Charles Northern Painting (New York: Holt, Rhinehart & Winston) 1968 p. 44.

KARLŠTEJN

The foundation stone of the castle of Karlštejn was laid on June 10th 1348. (fig. 3) The castle, about sixteen kilometers from Prague, was to become the treasury for Emperor Charles' most precious relics, and the Imperial regalia. The castle itself is constructed on three different levels; the palace, the tower containing the chapels of the Virgin and St. Catherine, and the Great Tower containing the chapel of the Holy Cross, the repository of the relics. The present chapel of the Virgin was originally dedicated to the instruments of Christ's passion, while the present chapel of St. Catherine was originally dedicated to the Virgin Mary. A curious claus in the foundation document states no man may sleep with a woman, even his wife in the tower castle at Karlštejn. The tower containing the chapel of the Virgin is partly residential, while the larger tower containing the chapel of the Holy Cross is not. Ing. Jaromir Kubu, Director of the castle affirms women were not allowed to enter the Chapel of the Holy Cross. Its function was both religious and chivalric - to protect the implements of power connected with the state with implements of heavenly power in the form of relics and images. The entire decorative scheme of Karlstejn on all levels, was completed by 1367. They are documented by Giovanni Marignola, a minorite friar, writing of their splendor in his Chronicle in 1355.[7]

Charles was, even by medieval standards, a fanatical collector of relics; in 1354 alone he amassed "septem corpora

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[7] Kronika Marignolova in Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum VIII (Prague 1882) p. 492.

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sanctorum et capita at que brachia sanctorum multa valde."[8] In 1350 he obtained from the family of Louis of Bavaria a nail, a lance and a large piece of the wood of the true cross, a tooth of John the Baptist, the arm of St. Anne and other relics. All these were carried in a procession to Prague, and the Emperor obtained a special feast for their veneration. They were eventually housed at Karlštejn.[9] In 1356 Charles was given a piece of the True Cross and two thorns from the Crown of Thorns by King John of France. The presentation of these relics is shown in the first of the three Relic Scenes on the south wall of the chapel of the Virgin. The third scene shows Charles placing his relics in a cross made in 1357. (fig. 4) The relic theme is continued in the tiny, womb like oratory of St. Catherine, which can only be reached by a short passage leading from the chapel of the Virgin. Above the door are busts of Charles IV and his third wife Anna Swidnica adoring this very reliquary. Charles and Anna also appear in the altar-niche kneeling before the Virgin and Child. (fig. 5) The original dedication of the chapel to the Virgin is evident from her prominent position above the altar. St. Catherine, for whom the chapel is now dedicated, is hidden out of sight at the side of the altar. The experience of standing within this tiny jewel-box room is extraordinary; at once both intimate and universal. The seven patron saints of Bohemia are painted on the north wall, now simply a series of heads as a result of the application of the semi-precious stones so dear to Charles. Acting as an architectural reliquary the stones both honor and embellish their sacred contents like a heavenly womb, the closed garden of Mary, for whom this chapel was originally designed, making it a perfect repository for the Eucharist.

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[8] *Kronika bense z Weirmile* in Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum, VIV, Prague, 1884 p.522.

[9] Simpson, Amanda. *The Connections between English and Bohemian Painting during the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century* (NY: Garland) 1984, p76.

THE CHAPEL OF THE HOLY CROSS AS THE HEAVENLY JERUSALEM

The chapel of the Holy Cross is the culmination of any pilgrimage to Karlštejn. Master Theodorik, a court painter for Charles IV, was relieved of all other duties to direct the scheme of what must be one of the strangest and most brilliant chapel of the fourteenth century. Its decoration was carried out as one campaign, not piecemeal as in the Chapels of the Virgin and St. Catherine. The chapel is reached by a staircase decorated with scenes from the lives of Saints Wenceslas and Ludmilla.[10] The entire upper floor of the great northern tower is taken up by the Chapel of the Holy Cross. Its rectangular ground plan is fortress like in character, a simple two bay construction. (fig. 6) The arch of the ceiling is made up of two fields of groined cross vaults lit by four pointed windows with traceries set with precious stones. For security reasons, the windows are unusually narrow and set within thick, protective walls, allowing only a minimum of light. The vault is covered with globes of glass set into gold, which spill down into the frescoes painted in the window embrasures. The gilded vaulting is plastered with ground glass lenses depicting the sun, the moon and the stars to create an illusion of a starlit sky above.

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[10] Unfortunately, these paintings were drastically restored in 1897-98 that they bear little resemblance to the originals. Simpson 84.

The walls are covered with painted panels, and below them flat slabs of semi-precious stones set into gilded gesso frames. The frames served simultaneously as reliquaries, and the gold and silver on the frames are not distinguished from the subject of the panel - rather they merge onto the surface of the painting in the manner of an icon. The frames enclose larger than life half-length devotional images which echo Byzantine icons, and serve as reliquaries themselves as each image is lined with relics. The dim, broken light from the windows reflecting on glazed, gilded and polished facets and surfaces, combined with the figures of saints protruding from their frames in the gloom like disembodied guardians - create an unforgettable impression.

There are spikes for 573 candles set along the wall, and precious stones once hung from the screen and were set into the windows.[11] When lit, the chapel was transformed into a shimmering paradise, the proverbial "Heavenly Jerusalem". No doubt Charles found inspiration for this kind of construction from the thirteenth century Sainte Chapelle in Paris. Both constructions are giant reliquaries, and each relies on the inherent reflective qualities of their chosen medium, semi-precious materials at Karlštejn and stained glass in Paris, to indicate God's presence. The Holy Cross Chapel however is more brilliant and evocative when seen in candlelight, flickering against the precious stone panels.

What was the motivation for lining a chapel with semi-precious stones? This uniquely Bohemian practice is found in three other locations, all constructed under Charles' patronage. The first is the above-mentioned Chapel of St. Catherine, in the

[11] Stejskal, Karel Master Theodorik (Praha) p.16.

adjoining tower at Karlštejn. The other is to be found in Prague at St. Vitus Cathedral in the Chapel of St. Wenceslas. The finest, most coherent and complete of these projects is the Holy Cross Chapel at Karlstejn. Although systematically repaired over the years, the unique interior has never been damaged, and has been preserved without any change.[12]

The Bohemian legend of St. Catherine contains a description of a town seen in a vision by the saint entirely composed of semi-precious stones.[13] Abbot Suger writes that semi-precious stones have mystical qualities creating the "strange region of the universe" of the heavenly city.[14] The position of the chapel at the top of the highest tower of the castle, its multiple functions as both a religious and secular site, and its rich, unusual decorations liken it to the ever-popular and powerful imagery of the Heavenly Jerusalem in Christian art and liturgy.

The exegetical traditions of the early church invested a multitude of powerful and complex meanings to any reference to Jerusalem in scripture. It may refer to the history of Israel, the Christian Church, the virtuous soul or heavenly paradise. This four-fold interpretation was put forth by St. Jerome in the fifth century.[15] His exegesis, while founded in the allegorical tradition, becomes more literal and historical with time, particularly during his years in Bethlehem, when he was faced with making scripture understandable to the novice. The mention of Jerusalem also calls to mind the role that city has played in salvation history. When King David conquered Jerusalem from the Jebusites it became the seat of a dynasty, the residence of a king under Yahweh's protection, enhanced with the promise of becoming an everlasting kingdom.[16] Perhaps Emperor Charles hoped to mirror these sentiments: he desired to embellish the neglected capital of Bohemia with the fervor and magnificence evidenced earlier by the saintly king Louis in Paris. Karlštejn and its Holy Cross Chapel, lined with gems and bones, embodies the image of Jerusalem as a symbol of the earthly church - protected by and protecting its faithful kings.

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[12] Kuthanova, V. Karlštejn (Praha: Tisk) p. 8.

[13] Dve Legendy z doby Karlovy ed. V. Vazny (Prague 1959) 147.

[14] Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St. Denis and its Art Treasures ed. by Erwin Panofsky (Princeton 1964) pp62-65.

[15] McNally, Robert E. The Bible in the Early Middle Ages (Newman Press) 1959 p. 53-4.

In Revelations John the Evangelist describes the Heavenly Jerusalem as having "foundations garnished with all manner of precious stones" and writes that "it gleamed with the splendor of God. The city had the radiance of a precious jewel that sparkled like a diamond."[17]. If so, the chapel then becomes a continuation of the Apocalyptic scheme begun in the Chapel of the Virgin in the adjoining tower, frescoed with the Apocalyptic Godhead, the Adoration of the Lamb and the twenty-four elders.[18] In the largest tower at Karlštejn the whole host of heaven now gathers to worship the Instruments of Christ's Passion in the Chapel of the Holy Cross, represented by not only their relics, but by their divine presence as indicated by their devotional image or icon.[19]

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[16] Woodenboek, Bijbel Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Bible (New York: McGraw Hill 1963) p. 1135.

[17] Revelations 21:11

[18] Simpson 86.

THEODORIK'S PANELS

One hundred and twenty-nine panel paintings of tempera, gold and silver on wood panels line the upper walls of the Chapel of the Holy Cross. All are the products of Theodorik's workshop, constituting the largest known cycle of panel paintings from the medieval period. This extraordinary series contains a large Crucifixion and Entombment scene, and over life size images of Apostles, Holy Virgins, Widows, Knights, Rulers, Abbots, Bishops, Popes, the Church Fathers, Prophets and Angels. The arrangement of the pictures is unique: the panels are placed in three or four rows one above the other, and there are two rows in the window recesses.[20] The half-length figures have a monumentality and presence which is at variance with the accepted view of the European International Gothic or Courtly style.

Theodorik's saints are at once both ponderous or wistful, elegant or brooding, intimate or distant, depending upon the pose, attitude and costume given to express the character of the holy individual. His unique style and that of his workshop has engendered much speculation and conjecture among scholars. His figures can be bulky and well shaded in the Italian manner[21], or flat, decorative and elegant like the masters of French schools.

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[19] Sixten Ringbom, Icon to Narrative: the Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting (Doorsspijk: Davaco) 1984.

[20] Six pictures have been removed to the National Gallery Collection in Prague, and are now replaced by copies in the Holy Cross Chapel.

[21] The Italian Master Tommaso da Modena worked in Prague for Charles IV at this time.

The soft, amorphous forms, bulbous noses and specific technical approach have directed recent scholars to suspect a Netherlandish origin for this artist.[22] Theodorik exhibits a specifically Bohemian style in his flowing figures and in his emphasis on the two dimensionality of the panel surface. He packs his figures and objects together in such a way as to enhance their decorative effect. Oval faces, vivacious eyes and wistful, gently emotional expressions combine with flowing drapery and the painterly use of highlights also characteristic of the Bohemian manner.[23] The fixed gazes, immobile poses and highly spiritual expression of the figures also suggests links to Byzantine panel painting as expressed in Italy and Central Europe.

Karel Stejskal believes the one hundred twenty nine paintings arranged upon the four walls of the chapel should be interpreted as a Bohemian version of the Byzantine iconostasis.[24] Charles would have certainly been exposed to an iconostasis at the Cathedral of St. Marks in Venice, or other churches near Venice during his stay there. Theodorik himself utilizes a number of influences in the execution of draperies in his paintings reminiscent of Paolo Veneziano and his Venetian followers working in an Italo-Byzantine style. Additional research provides further linkage with the iconostasis function of these paintings. Until the Hussite Wars in the early fifteenth century, the pictures of the rulers included among the saints were covered by shields made of gold and silver. The only pattern for such an unusual device is found in the gold and silver palls which often cover Byzantine icons. Even the act of depositing relics in picture frames covered with cameos or rock crystal, was customary in the East.[25]

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[22] As stated in an interview with Ing. Jaromir Kubu, Director of Karlstejn castle, July 1991.

[23] Schmidt, Gerhard "Bohemian Painting up to 1450" in Gothic Art in Bohemia ed. E. Bachman (Phaidon, 1969) 46.

[24] Stejskal 15.

St. Jerome is the only saint represented in pure profile of the Holy Cross group. (fig. 7) The head and the hands are executed in a linear technique which makes them stand out in sharp relief from the unshaded, glaring red of his robes. This is in marked contrast to the image of Matthew whose soft, painterly texture seems to absorb the light and color. (fig.8) S. Elizabeth shares many stylistic qualities with Matthew, including the delicately modeled blue gown, and melancholy expression. (fig. 9) Elizabeth is the most active saint of the chapel, shown feeding the hungry, the act of charity for which she was most loved. Elizabeth was a particularly important saint in this region, and was a holy person of recent memory, having lived in the previous century. She was a Hungarian princess, mother and widow, born in Bratislava, Slovakia, and was greatly venerated throughout central Europe. Theodorik's St. Catherine provides a quite different image of a woman saint, this time a depiction of early Christian virgin martyr from the distant past. (fig. 10) Her portrayal is more courtly than that of Elizabeth , in spite of the fact that both were princesses. This reflects instead the desire of Theodorik to illustrate Italian influence through a solidity of form managing to dominate the decorative pattern of her gown. While there is an undeniably flat quality to his reproduction of the textile pattern of her blue and gold brocade, Theodorik has chosen to use a soft broad manner of painting - Netherlandish in influence perhaps? Expanding upon this stylization is the image of St. Vitus, posed frontally, but for his side-long glance. (fig. 11) His vine scroll, berry and leaf brocade, ermine-lined robe shows no interest in separating the arm from the torso. Instead, the artist respects the integrity of the two-dimensional beauty of the pattern, and extends it into the tooled surface of the background. The variety of styles and types of images and costumes found in the Holy Cross saints is a tribute to the wealth of artistic talent and influences simultaneously acceptable under the sophisticated, worldly Prague court of Emperor Charles. Artists had great artistic freedom in their choice of style - courtly, expressive, monumental, iconic, emotional, or simply narrative.

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[25] Stejskal 16.

With the Holy Cross Chapel at Karlštejn, like Sainte Chapelle in Paris, the architecture becomes the reliquary, designed to house, honor and protect its sacred, valued and powerful contents. Both the Heavenly Jerusalem and the sacred Womb, the precious seed of the Emperor's power are given a powerful, well defended, beautifully designed and embellished repository to guard, enlighten and inspire the knights of the empire under the magic patronage of their king.

LATER BOHEMIAN PAINTING

Only seven manuscripts survive which were created under Wenceslas IV, son of Charles IV, all decorated in the manner of the Neumarket illustrators, a workshop established by the King's Chancellor. The Genesis master, so called as he created the Genesis initial in the first volume of the Wenceslas Bible, created bright, sensual images in this religious manuscript. The secularization of religious imagery under the patron of Wenceslas IV can be clearly seen in the miniatures of this text. A close examination of the Genesis page of this Bible reveals young women in thin white coteharidie[26] girded by a twisting blue belt. (fig. 12) She and others frolic among bright flowers, birds, shields, festoons and angels decorating the margin of the folio outside the roundels. Her gown, cut on the bias, emphasizes the shape of her waist and bust, and the blue girdle identifies her as belonging to the Guild of the Bathkeepers. Under the reign of King Wenceslas the Bathkeepers attained the status of other guilds under a privilege granted to them by the king in 1406. The Bathkeepers can be found in a multitude of manuscripts dating from this period, in the borders and even main scenes of both religious and secular texts. The only difference between the Bathkeepers garment and that of the fashionable gentlewoman was the latter's would always have long sleeves of one kind or another.[27]

The reign of King Wenceslas exemplified a style of court life echoed in the courts of the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy in France and Flanders, and in the courts of Milan and Ferrara now flowering in Northern Italy. Unlike his father, Charles IV, who exercised great skill in diplomacy, statecraft, and in the patronage of art, literature and education, Wenceslas was more interested in building castles to house his collection of manuscripts rather than chapels to house relics of church and state. He continued to pursue secular rather than religious or even civic pleasures and duties throughout his reign. The art produced under his patronage is aristocratic, artificial, wistful - already nostalgic for the chivalric past - a pleasure garden vision of the world which had only really existed in the minds of the poets. At the height of the Czech "Beautiful Style" came the Hussite revolution. John Hus and Jerome of Prague, followers of Wycliff in England, believed that scripture, and not the hierarchy of the church, should be the guide of human actions.[28] These gentlemen did not take kindly to religious manuscripts peopled with the infamous, seductive images of Bathhouse beauties, nor the mystical, merging of the sacred and secular functions practiced by the nobility in religious reliquary chapels like those at Karlstejn - magically lit and shimmering with precious gems and the floating faces of saints. Though both John and Jerome were burned at the stake in 1415 and 1416, the people had taken their cause to heart, bringing about political, economic and social changes which could not be altered by the weak rule of Wenceslas IV or his successors. The Hussite movement brought an end to the courtly, emotional and visionary art fostered by the patrons of fourteenth century art in Bohemia.[29]

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[26] A cotehardie is a tightly fitted garment, low-cut garment made of one or more pieces, worn under a more formal outer garment, or on its own. It is popular throughout the fourteenth century, and survives through the first quarter of the fifteenth century. It is called a gamurra or camora in Italy, and a kirtle in England. It is worn by both men and women, although it is always short and worn over leggings by men. Its tightness and scoop neck cause a stoop shouldered and frail silhouette when it is represented on women in northern manuscript illumination.

[27] Šroňková p 151.

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[28] Verdier, Philippe "International Individuals in the Roaring 1400's" Art News v 61 (1962) p. 26.

[29] Verdier p. 261.

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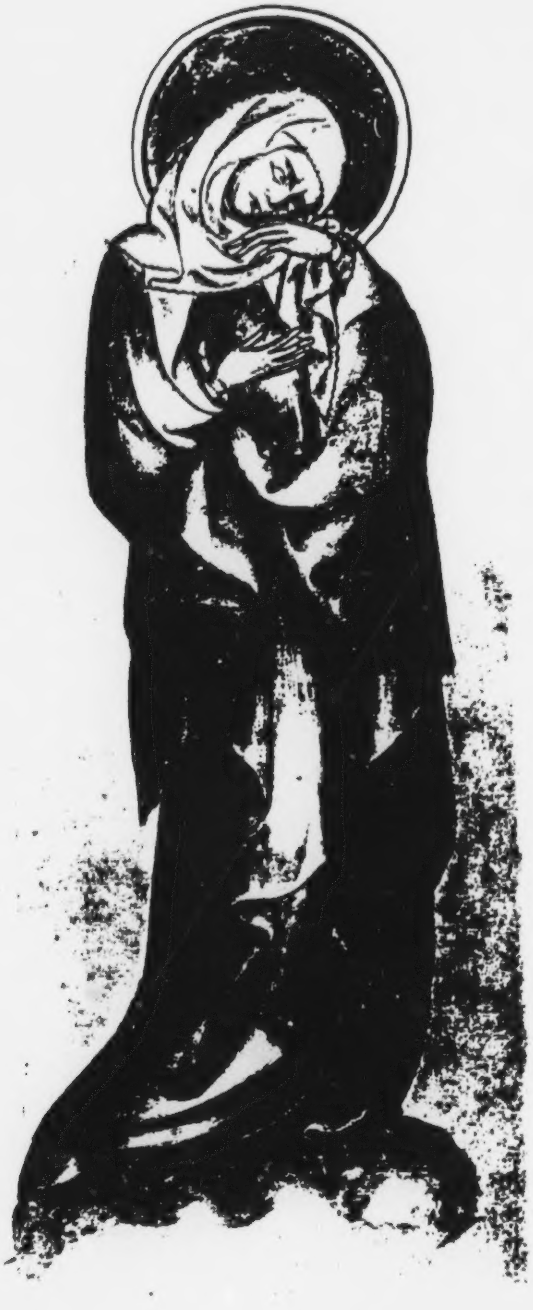

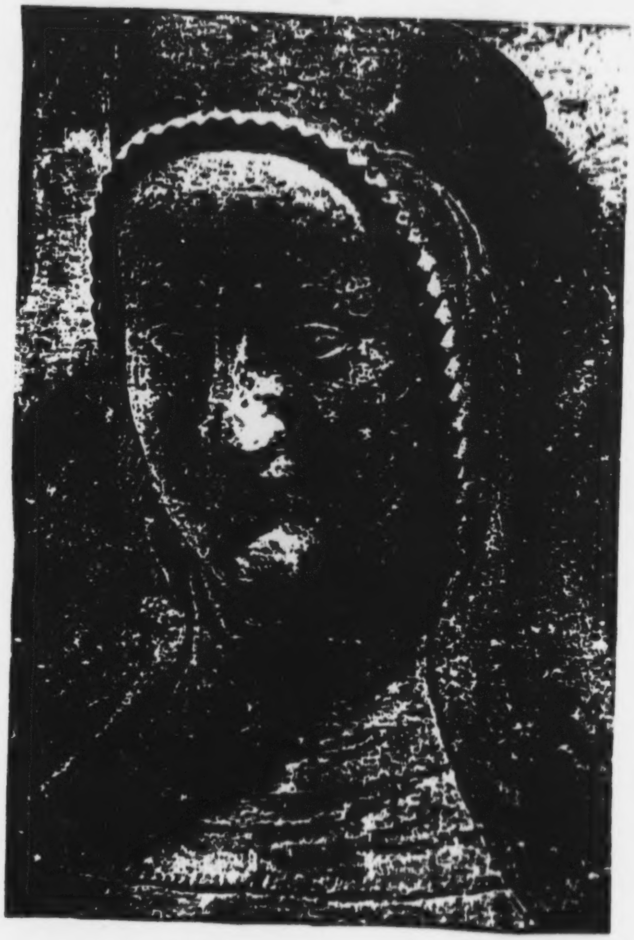

2.Queen Elizabeth Přemyslidin. 1375.
Triforiegna, Veitsdom, Prague

1. "Mourning Virgin" Passional of Kunigunde 1320. Prague
University Library.

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3. Karlstejn Castle. Holy Cross Chapel top floor, highest tower. 14th century.

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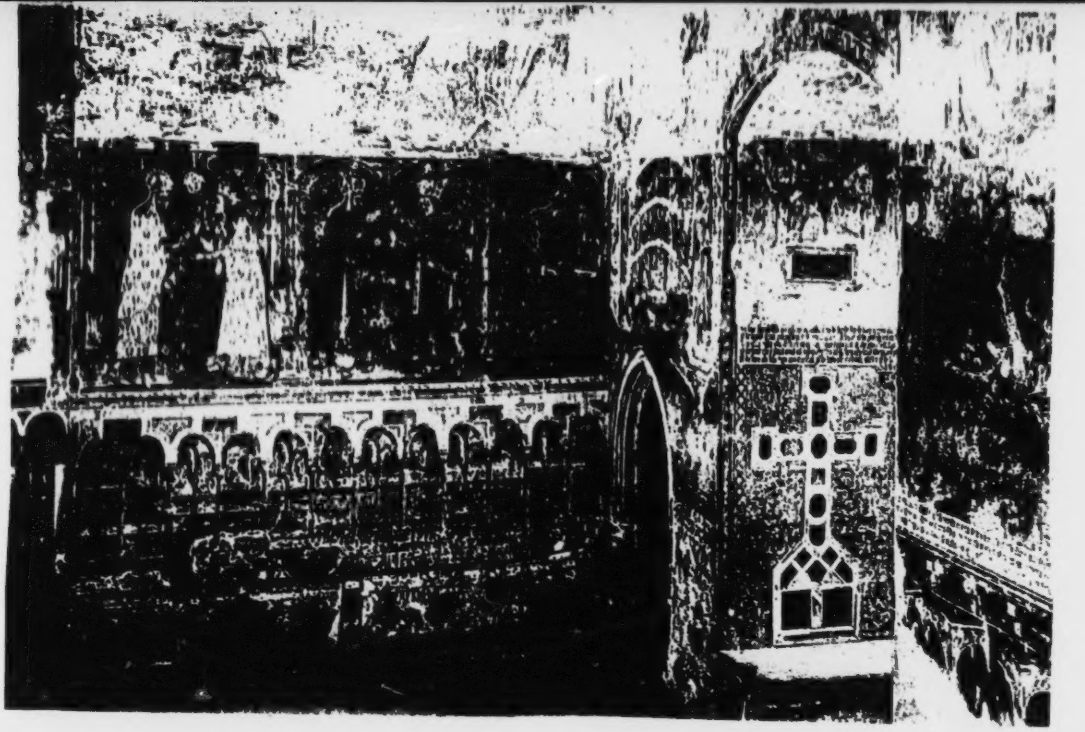
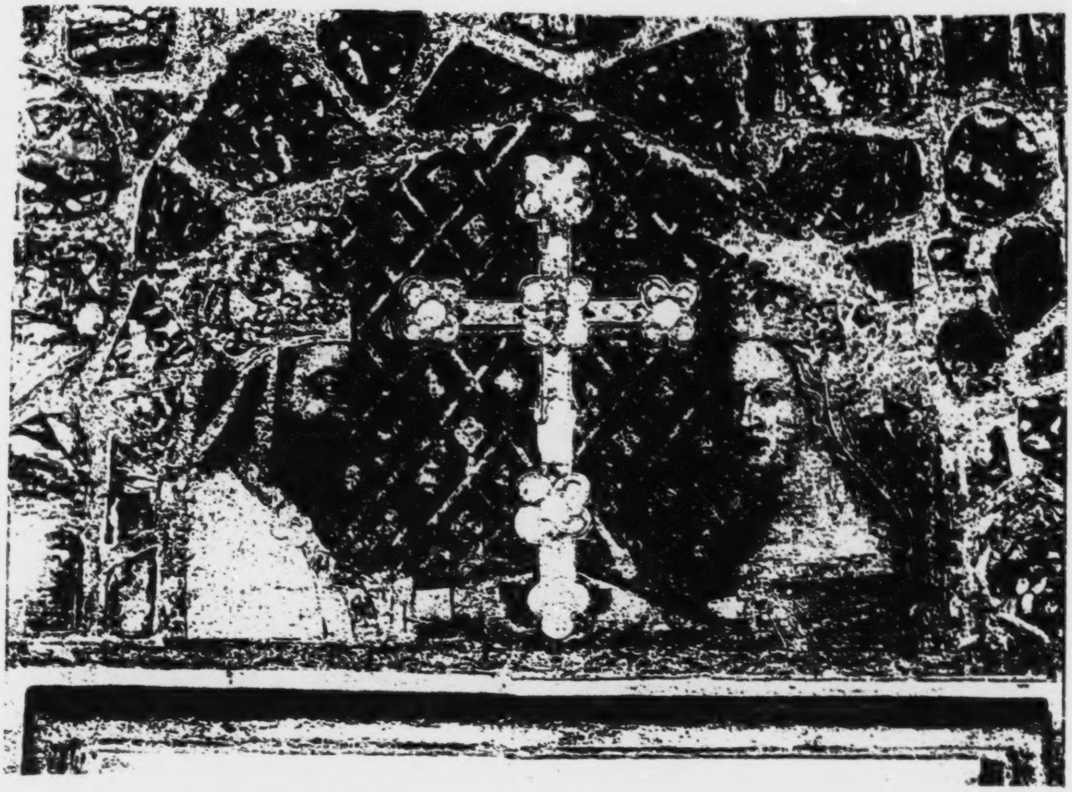


4. Karlstejn Castle, chapel of the Virgin, south wall. King Charles receives relics. 14th century.



5. Karlstejn Castle, chapel of St. Catherine. Charles and Anna. 14th century.

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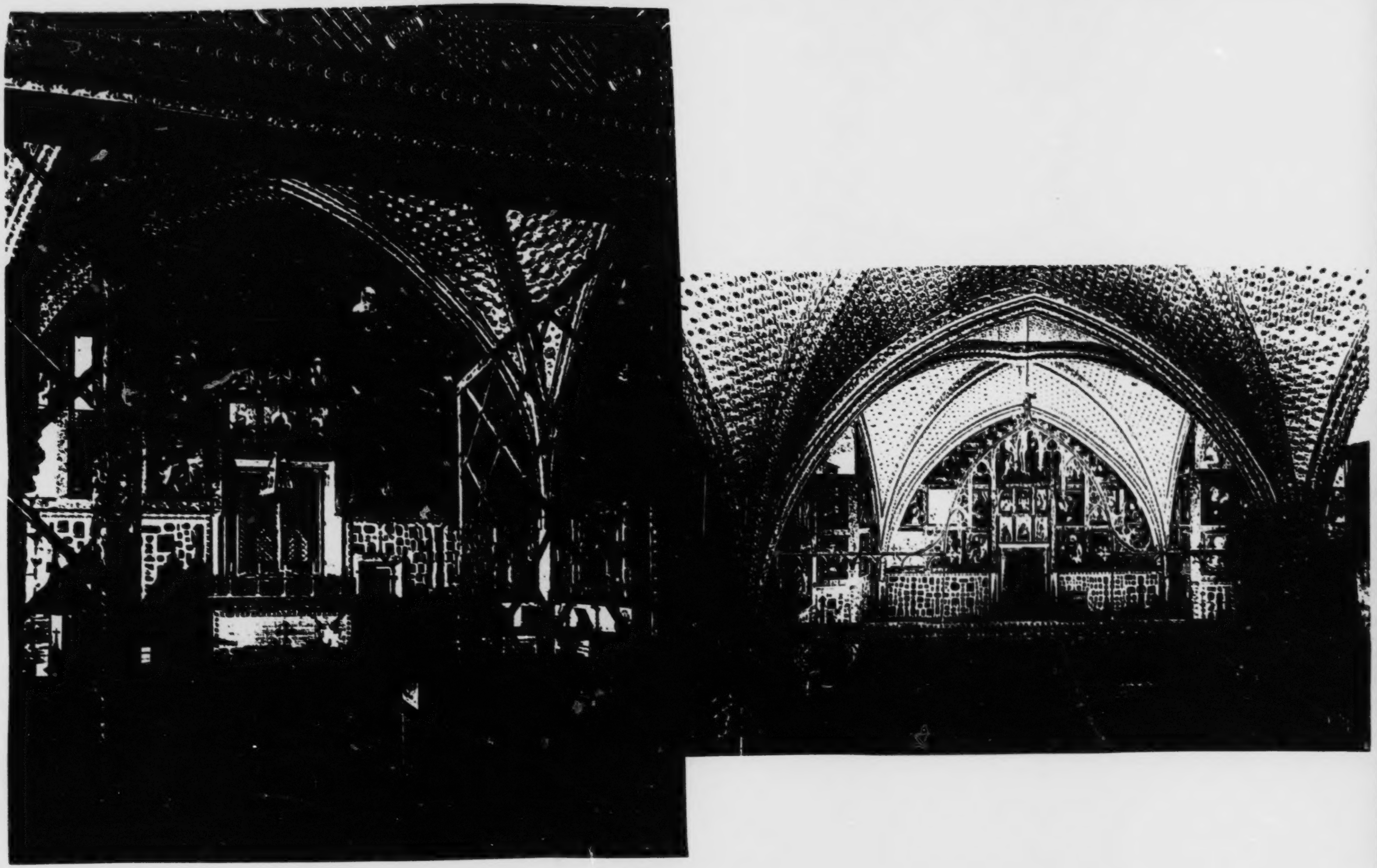

6. Holy Cross Chapel, Karlstejn Castle. 14th century.

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7. St. Jerome, by Theodorik. Holy Cross Chapel. 1367.

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8. St. Matthew, by Theodorik. Holy Cross Chapel. 1367.

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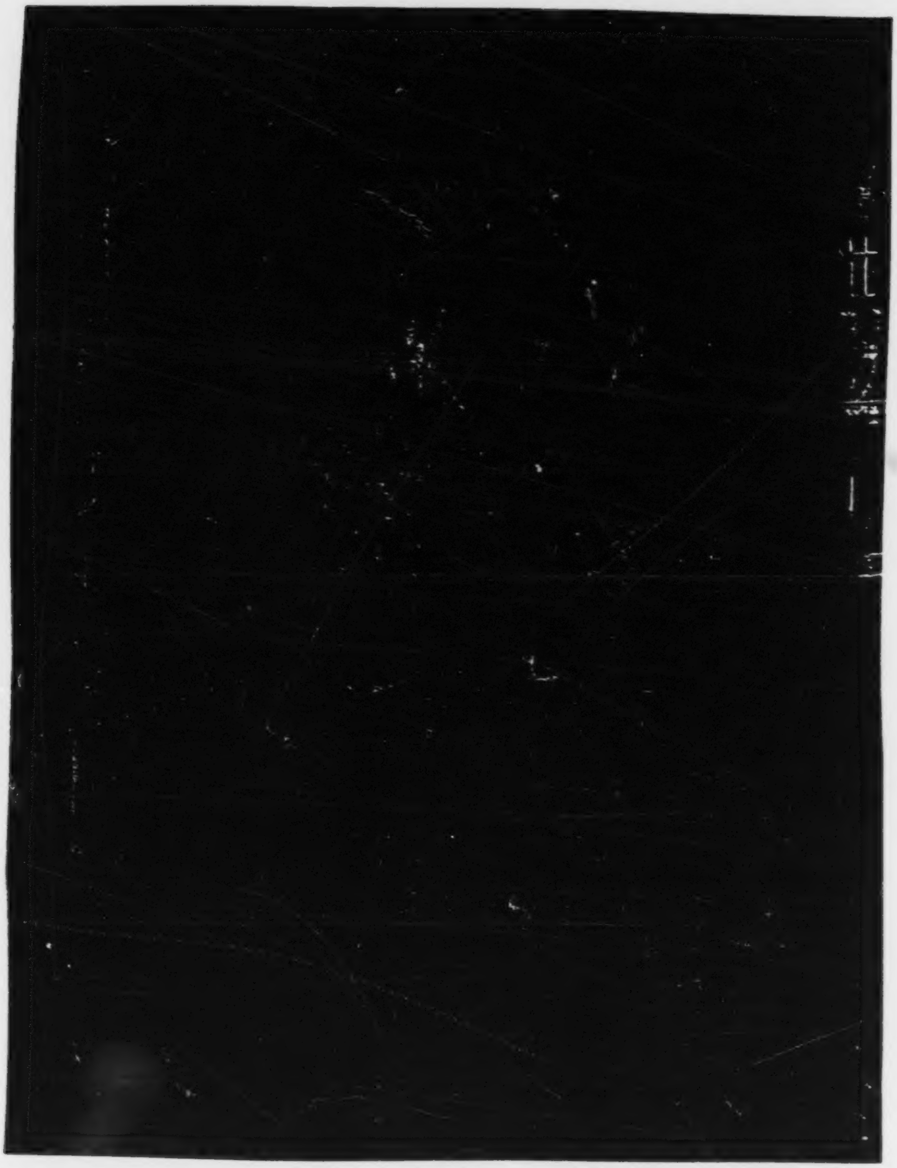

9. St. Elizabeth of Hungary, by Theodorik. Holy Cross Chapel. 1367.

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10. St. Catherine, by Theodorik. Holy Cross Chapel. 1367.

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11. St. Vitus, by Theodorik. Holy Cross Chapel. 1367.

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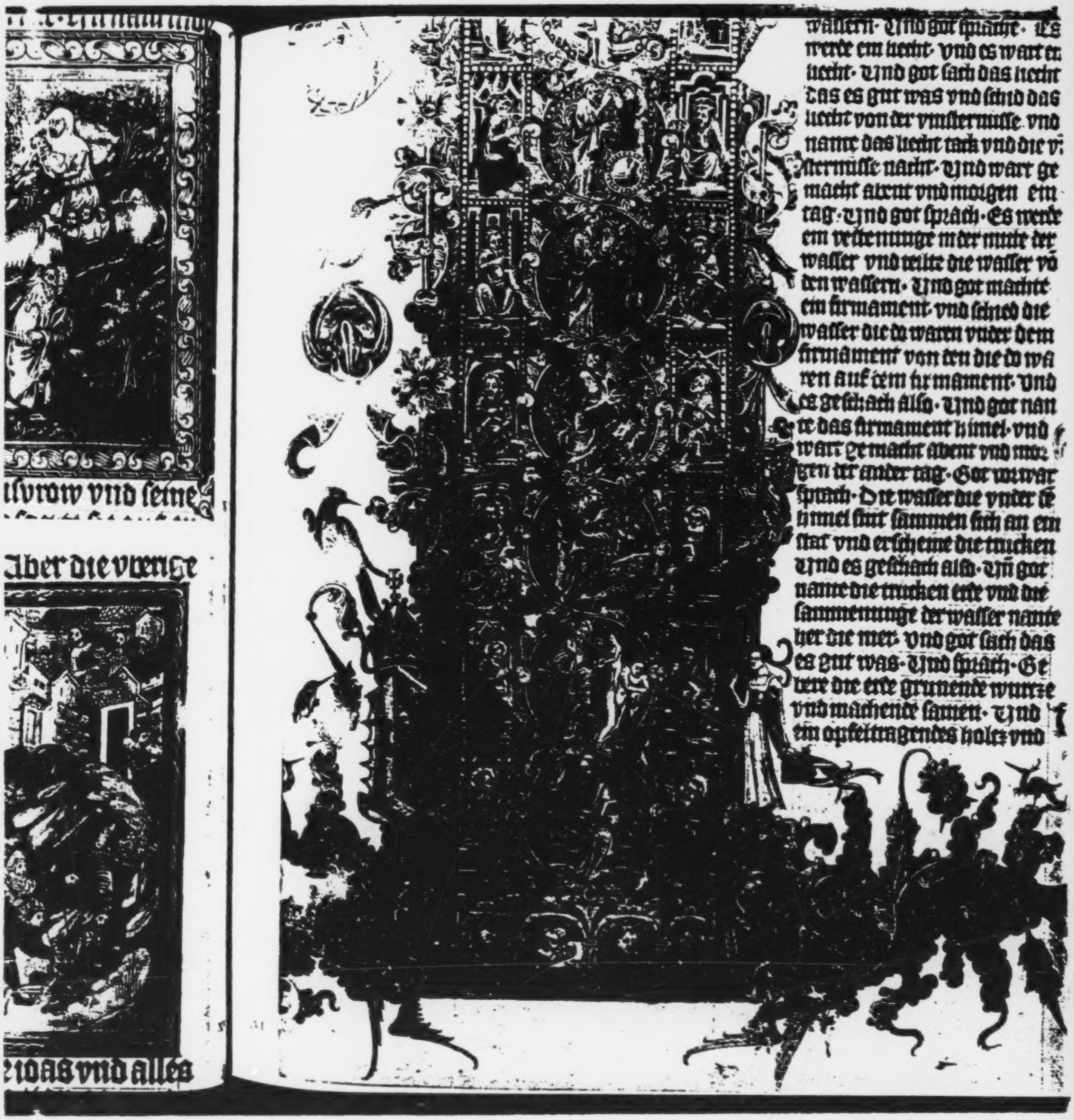

lvrow vnd ſeine

Aber die vbrige

das vnd alles

waſſern· Und got ſprache· Es
werde ein liecht· vnd es wart ei
liecht· Und got ſach das liecht
das es gut was vnd ſchid das
liecht von der vinſternüſſe· vnd
namte das liecht tack vnd die v
inſternüſſe nacht· Und wart ge
macht abent vnd morgen ein
tag· Und got ſprach· Es werde
ein veſtenunge in der mitte der
waſſer vnd teilte die waſſer vō
den waſſern· Und got machte
ein firmament· vnd ſchied die
waſſer die da waren vnder dem
firmament von den die da wa
ren auf dem firmament· vnd
es geſchach alſo· Und got nan
te das firmament himel· vnd
wart gemacht abent vnd mor
gen der ander tag· Got [illegible]
ſprach· Die waſſer die vnder dē
himel ſint ſammen ſich an ein
ſtat vnd erſcheine die trucken
Und es geſchach alſo· Un̄ got
namte die trucken erde vnd die
ſammenunge der waſſer namte
her die mer· vnd got ſach das
es gut was· Und ſprach· Ge
bere die erde grunende wurtze
vnd machende ſamen· Und
ein opfeltragendes holtz vnd

12. Bath-house Girl of Genesis Page. Wenceslas Bible. c.1400.

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Psychological Information
about Czechoslovakia

Zenaida R. Estrada

Fulbright/Czechoslovakia, 1991

U. S. Department of Education

June 22 - August 6, 1991

Introduction

Psychological Information about Czechoslovakia is a curriculum project that is intended for use in some psychology courses that are offered on the University of Hawaii/Leeward Community College campus. In fact, most of the information contained in this report already has been shared with my classes during the Fall Semester of 1991.

Before the Fulbright/Czechoslovakia Summer Seminar, 1991 started, my plan was to do a research project. However, because the nature of the seminar activities precluded use of the scientific method, I decided to do this curriculum project instead, using 2 of the 5 methods of research in psychology, namely, observations and interviews, to gather the information contained in this report. These 2 research methods lent themselves very well to the various activities during the seminar. The only hypothesis I had was that in each seminar activity there would always be some information that was relevant to psychology. Using observation and interviews required keeping my senses and mind open which I tried to do all the time except when stimulus overload would set in. The foci of both the observations and interviews were whatever situations came up, regardless of whether they were previously planned or not. Some of the interviews were done by myself and the others, with the other participants in the Seminar.

This report is organized under major headings which correspond to some specializations in psychology, such as of Clinical Psychology, Developmental - Educational Psychology, Environmental Psychology, Health Psychology, Industrial Psychology, Psychology of Women, Social Psychology. The information is by no means complete. I even have doubts about the accuracy of some parts. The reason is that during the interviews and the translations/interpretations from English to Czech or Slovak, and vice versa, some information must have been missed, misheard, or misunderstood by the interviewee(s), interpreter/translator, and interviewer(s) including myself. I hope that if any of the other seminar participants reads this report and finds any erroneous piece of information, s/he would not hesitate to provide me with feedback. It will be much appreciated.

Originally, at the end of each major heading I added Implications for Psychological Research. However, I decided to delete them in order to shorten the report. I also felt Implications for Psychological Research should be a separate report.

I would like to thank the following individuals who generously shared their time and expertise with me and without whose help, writing this report would not have been possible: Dr. Martin Petrovsky, Dr. Dagmar Sedlackova, Dr. Peter Weiss, Dr. Ludec Kolman, Dr. Jakl Franticek, Dr. Martin Jakubek, Dr. Mahulena Cejkova, Mrs. Hana Ripkova, Mr. Petr Pitha, Dr. Jiri Vanicek, Vice-Chairman RnDr. Jozef Miklosko, Minister of Health, Dr.

Bojar, Minister Josef Vavrousek, Vice-Prime Minister Ing. Jaroslav Jurecka, Ing. Arch, Ing, Stanislav Zalud, Professor Ivan Havel, Dr. Jozef Grmela, Dr. Vladimir Kebjza, Dr. Zdenek Petrzelka, Dr. Pavel Sremer, Dr. Miroslav Bielik, Dr. Karel Adam, Ing. Jana Ourednikova, Dr. Zdenek Deyl, Dr. Nora Barathova, Ms. Matilda Schwarzova, Dr. Marta Herucova, Juraj Wallner, Dr. Adriana Pechanova, Ing. Jirina Nesvadbikova, Ms. Jitka Northova, Ing. Miloslav Haban, Dr. Tomas Haisman, Ing. Jiri Cibulka, Dr. Ladislava Petrackova, Dr. Frantisek Longauer, Dr. Tomas Kraus, Ing. Skupin Jan, and Ing. Jaromir Kubu. I also would like to express my appreciation to all the other individuals and groups whose names I regret I was unable to take down, but who also welcomed the Seminar participants with warmth and hospitality and helped us to know about and understand their country and its people.

Clinical Psychology

Mental Illness and Psychotherapy

In Czechoslovakia the mentally ill are intitutionalized at the request of the individual's family and recommendation of court-appointed psychiatrists. The court or the mentally ill's family bears the responsibility for his/her stay at the institution. When the mental patient's condition improves, he/she is released to the family. However, some patients learn to become dependent on the institution in which they have received treatment and refuse to return home.

In Slovakia more women than men suffer from unipolar mood disorder (depression) and somatoform disorders (psychological disorders involving physical disorders but have no organic basis) which is why there are more mental facilities for women than there are for men.

Strbske Pleso is a mental institution for women in Slovakia. A number of the institution's residents have depression, while others have bipolar mood disorders (manic-depression), personality disorders, and physical disabilities. The facility looks well maintained and the residents appear to be receiving fairly humane treatment. However, the criteria for the residents' placement in the institution are not clear. Neither are the diagnostic tests that are used and the various classifications into which the residents fall. While chemotherapy is the predominant mode of therapy with the Strbske

Pleso's depressed patients, information regarding the use of other modes of intervention and the conditions under which they are applied is not available.

The Psychiatric Hospital in Bohnice is the largest psychiatric facility in Prague. According to Martin Petrovsky, M. D., clinical neurologist at the hospital, it has 35 wards and 1550 residents. The facility uses some very modern diagnostic procedures, such as CT (computer tomography) scan, PET (positron emission tomography) scan, and MRI (magnetic resonance imaging) scan.

Most beds at the Psychiatric Hospital are occupied by schizophrenics. The next largest group of patients at the institution have unipolar and bipolar mood disorders. The rest of the patients include those with personality disorders (psychopaths and sex offenders).

As in the U. S., research in Czechoslovakia shows that schizophrenia is related to genetic, biochemical, neurological, and environmental factors. Treatment of the schizophrenics at the Psychiatric Hospital combine chemotherapy (treatment with drugs) and psychotherapy. One-third of the schizophrenic patients recover, 1/3 do not recover at all, and 1/3 exhibit recidivism.

In the Psychiatric Hospital patients with mood disorders are treated with drugs. When drugs do not work, ECT (electroconvulsive therapy) is used, particularly on the depressed. As in the U. S., arguments against the use of ECT are based upon the question of whether it results in memory loss. Dr. Petrovsky said that research findings in Czechoslovakia show the memory loss is temporary, lasting only 5 to 6 weeks, which is 1 to 2 weeks longer than what some studies in the U. S. have shown.

Manic (violent) patients are placed in isolated wards of the Psychiatric Hospital. Lobotomy, a psychosurgical procedure, used to be performed on manic patients, but not anymore since the 1950s when it was replaced by chemotherapy.

Some patients at the Psychiatric Hospital are abusers of alcohol and pharmacologic drugs. According to Dr. Petrovsky, studies in Czechoslovakia show that alcohol abuse is due to genetics, marital problems and other psychiatric problems. Studies also show more women now are abusing alcohol than before the 1989 Revolution.

Various types of sexual dysfunction are treated at the Psychiatric Hospital. They include marital sexual dissatisfaction, sexual anxieties, and various forms of abnormal sexual behavior, such as sadistic sex.

The Psychiatric Hospital also has a sex offenders' ward. In charge of the ward is Peter Weiss, Ph. D., psychologist and sexologist. According to him, sex offenses include rape, sexual sadism, date rape, and pedophilia. The definition of child pornography is different from that in the U. S., that is, taking, and looking at, pictures of naked children are not considered sex offenses in Czechoslovakia.

According to Dr. Weiss, the causes of sex offenses are genetic factors, the person's biochemistry, and brain damage. Sex offenders that are younger than 16 are taken to the children's department of the mental institution. The adult sex offenders (all unmarried males, by the way) are placed in the sex offender's ward and examined by a psychologist or sexologist, and 2 psychiatrists. Following examination, one of 3 possible decisions is made. One is to send the sex offender to jail, if he has no mental illness. Another possible decision is to give the sex offender a short jail term or place him under probation and have him treated as an outpatient, if he only has a mild form of mental illness and has exhibited only a mild form of sexual abnormality. Still another option is to hospitalize the sex offender, if he has psychotic symptoms. If the latter decision is made, the hospitalized sex offender stays in the ward for 6 to 12 months and is subjected to chemotherapy, castration, or psychosurgery. Any of these 3 therapeutic approaches is combined with individual and/or group psychotherapy.

Chemotherapy for the sex offender involves the administration of female hormones in order to inhibit sexual aggression. Castration is performed with the patient's consent following psychotherapy or counseling. Dr. Weiss says that following castration, 80% of the castrated sex offenders report a satisfactory sex life, while only 20% of the castrated sex offenders report they do not have a satisfactory sex life. Dr. Weiss states that the latter group tend not to have girl friends and blame their failure to have a satisfactory sex life on their castration. According to Dr. Petrovsky, psychosurgery on the sex offender involves a procedure that is directed at the limbic system, the part in the brain that regulates emotions, memory and motivation. The psychosurgical procedure is bilateral, because the effects are longer lasting than if it is unilateral. However, the procedure is not 100% effective. Psychosurgery makes a patient responsive to psychotherapy.

There is a Children's Ward in the Psychiatric Hospital where treatment is provided to children with ADD (attention deficit disorder). Amphetamines (speed) are effective with these children. The paradoxical effect of amphetamines that has been observed in the U. S. has also been found in Czechoslovakia, that is, amphetamines tend to sedate rather than activate ADD children who also exhibit hyperactivity.

The Psychiatric Hospital has a Crisis Intervention Center which takes in people with acute psychiatric disorders, particularly those who are acutely suicidal. According to Dagmar Sedlackova, Mu. Dr., psychiatrist and director of the Center, referrals are not needed for admission into the facility. An acutely depressed person may come and be treated as an outpatient or stay for 5 days. If the depression does not respond to chemotherapy and psychotherapy at the Center, the patient is then hospitalized.

Developmental - Educational Psychology

No direct observations of classroom activities at any educational level were made because the academic calendar ended at about the same time that the Fulbright seminar started. However, information about the country's educational system and institutions was gathered largely through interviews at several institutions with their administrators, faculty, researchers and other staff.

Based on the above-mentioned interviews, it appears that curricular changes are being made. In the 10th grade, for example, the course content and instruction of civics and history are being changed because they are subjects most affected by the previous government. In other words, Marxist philosophy received the greatest emphasis in civics and history prior to the Revolution. Now it is felt that civics should focus more on ethics, and history should cover facts that were deliberately left out under the previous government. Another curricular change is the translation and publication of books in other languages instead of Russian only. While in the past Russian was required from the second grade up, presently other languages, i. e. German, English, French, Spanish, etc. are being included in the curricula. There is also a move to accommodate the increasing enthusiasm for education for democracy and defeminization of teaching. The interest in the latter is a reaction against having had too many female teachers under the past regime because they were the ones, not the males, who were willing to teach for low pay.

Some conditions slow down achievement of the above desired educational changes. The country lacks teachers of English and qualified teachers in other subjects to replace those teachers under the old regime who quit after they rejected retraining under the new regime. Also the Ministry of Education feels it has to continue providing financial support for the education of the Vietnamese students who are in Czechoslovakia under an international agreement, but only temporarily. Underlying all these problems is the lack of money.

Beyond high school interest in further education is at an ebb. Contributing factors appear to be the high cost of college education. In addition, many high school students and parents are aware of the shamefully low salaries that people with college and postgraduate degrees receive and wonder if college education is worth their time and money. For example, the monthly salaries of the psychiatrists and psychologists I interviewed are only between $100 and $120. These amounts are before taxes are deducted! Salaries after college graduation notwithstanding, a number of high school graduates go to college, anyway. He/she does not pay tuition because it is subsidized by the government; however, the parents pay for the room and board, and other fees.

In colleges and universities changes are taking place. Some former faculty who are of the Marxist persuasion have been expelled. They allege there is a a political basis for their expulsion. Administrators of these institutions, however, deny these allegations, suggesting instead that they are only trying to rid their institutions of "dead wood" of which there still remain some in their midst, but which they would be delighted to be without.

Research academy/university/college administrators and some of their faculty/staff also express interest in opportunities for further academic pursuits in the U. S. and other Western countries. As these administrators and faculty try to shed the old thinking they acquired under Communist rule, they are attempting to understand Western phenomena through various ways and adopt Western thought.

Academic freedom in research academies, colleges, and universities has increased. These institutions take pride in their and their students' freedom to publish their ideas. However, the amount of academic freedom enjoyed by faculty/researcher and students varies among the disciplines. Until two years ago the sciences did not enjoy as much academic freedom as the humanities. Then, in 1990, shortly after the Revolution the Academy of Sciences was refounded. Having decided to take an analytical and empirical direction, the

Academy aims to pursue many research projects. Unfortunately, it appears severely handicapped by lack of funds.

Changes in the colleges'and universities' curricula have taken place, such as the complete cancellation of Marxist disciplines from the curriculum. The Russian language whose popularity has declined is no longer required. German is the most popular and the learning of English is encouraged. Unfortunately, there is a definite lack of textbooks in English in the various disciplines, including psychology and medicine. Both administrators and faculty verbalize interest in learning English, but the former criticize the latter for giving nothing more than lip service to the matter. Some instruction in English is being provided by American faculty under the Fulbright Exchange program, while others, by Americans who are in Czechoslovakia under other arrangements.

Still other changes are already in place in higher education curricula that reflect an attempt to broaden academic and vocational programs in order to meet the students demands which include having more courses/programs to choose from, increased number of courses that involve application rather than theory, and job training programs.

An area in higher education/research where no change seems to be taking place is in the status of the faculty/researchers which appears to be very low and related to low salaries. Consequently, they also have low self-esteem. In spite of their low pay, however, these faculty/researchers seem to maintain a strong sense of dedication to their profession. They are not happy with the economic situation, but they like it that they now are able to speak, write, and pursue their professional interests with greater freedom than they used to have under the old regime.

In colleges and universities instructional faculty are not expected to engage in research. In some universities like Masaryk where the primary emphasis is teaching there is no relief from teaching in order for faculty to get involved in research. The teaching load at some universities, such as Masaryk, range from 14 to 20 hours and the average class size is 12 to 15. For lecture classes, however, maximum enrollment is 50 students.

Environmental Psychology

There appear to be high levels of environmental awareness and concern among the people of Czechoslovakia. While they take great pride in the unspoiled beauty of some rural areas, the natural spas which are frequented by the well heeled foreigners, the art and architecture in their churches, museums, and other buildings, they are also quite concerned about environmental problems that include air, water and noise pollution, natural radiation, devastation of some natural resources, progressive deterioration of homes, and other buildings, density and crowding, and inadequate heating and

78

illumination. Information is unavailable regarding the frequency of seasonal affective disorder (a mood disorder in which the individual's mania or depression tends to recur at about the same time each year) and the extent to which insufficient heating and lighting contribute to these problems. While many people appear anxious about their country's environmental problems, they do not seem to feel there is much that they can do about them. According to Mahulena Cejckova, M.D.,a female doctor with the Federal Assembly, the people are torn between concerns for their health and a sense of security derived from having jobs with industries (mining, manufacture, nuclear power development, etc.) that are also sources of pollution. The peoples' emotions regarding their environmental problems range from resignation, doubt, sadness, helplessness, confusion, fear for their and their children's lives, concern for the rest of their physical environment, guilt, frustration, bewilderment, and anger.

Various steps have been taken to remedy the country's environmental problems. Educational programs at various levels address them. At different academic levels textbooks and other educational materials have been developed that cover environmental topics. Environmental projects have been undertaken by various government agencies. Environmental experts from other countries been been invited as consultants under exchange and other programs. As money becomes available restoration projects are undertaken/completed. Various products in the manufacturing industries are being recycled in order to reduce waste and environmental pollution.

However, so much remains to be done by the government to remedy the country's environmental problems. The government's goals include making deep changes in the economy in order to effect badly needed enviromental changes, increasing the environmental budget, improving environmental education, integrating environmental information systems, cooperating in international efforts to improve environmental monitoring systems, and supporting environmental programs and research.

Health Psychology

Some stressors for the people of Czechoslovakia are quite obvious. Among the stressors are: the high cost of living; low salaries/wages; joblessness; privatization-related problems (competition, motivation to privatize, but unavailability of financial resources to do so, the threat of losing one's home as a probable consequence of it being returned to a former owner); having more choices than were available during the previous government; having to be responsible for oneself and one's decisions after so many years of the government doing all these things for the individual; environmental problems; rapid pace of living; family instability and divorce; absence of support systems; and all the other demands on the individual that come with surviving, living, and adjusting to the changes since the Revolution of 1989.

Some of the people's ways of coping with stress are positive, others, negative.The positive ones include long lunch breaks and family get togethers (an apparent reason for the closing of many business places at lunch time and on Saturday afternoons through Sunday, the whole day) quiet moments at a park, attendance at cultural activities, such as concerts and plays and being alone. The negative ways of dealing with stress include the use of excessive use of defense mechanisms, such as denial and withdrawal which are both evident the behavior of drinking alchohol.

Extended exposure to stress eventually results in the deterioration of the people's health and development of various health problems that include psychological disturbances, miscarriages, birth defects, high infant and child mortality rates, cancer, tuberculosis, the complications that accompany AIDS, and shortened life-span, particularly in highly polluted areas like Most. According to the Ministry of Health, the incidence of tuberculosis is high among the Gypsies and, presently, AIDS which is on the rise is a homosexual problem.

The people appreciate the possibility of choosing their doctor and dentist. However, according to the Minister of Health, Dr. Bojar, Czechoslovakia's health problems are compounded by the country's economic problems, low standard of living, particularly among the Gypsies, child neglect, a loosely set-up immunization program, shortage of doctors, nurses and other health-care professionals, and slow development of medical technology.

Industrial Psychology

To some Czech and Slovak business managers good management in the work place means the promotion of production that provides both present and future means of economic survival and social security for the workers and their families. The workers participate in the decision-making and responsibility for the productivity of a company. Realizing the importance of creativity, management of some industries provides incentives for innovative ideas. The incentives include bonuses. The management's use of these ideas are, however, voluntary, regardless of whether monetary compensation is given for them.

Robotization has increased in some industries, but management in of some companies states it does not resulted in lay-offs. Employees where robotization is introduced are assigned other tasks, but are not terminated from their jobs.

Like reinforcement, punishment, such as being fired from one's job, is used in the work place and is meted out for undesirable behaviors, such as insubordination and drinking.

Many employees' rights are protected through agreements between trade unions and employers.

Psychology of Women

Women and employment

Many women have outside employment not for self-realization, but for economic reasons. Their salary supplements their husbands' income. Some women have full-time jobs, while others have part-tme jobs. Presently, it is not as easy for women to find part-time jobs, as it was in the past. Interviews with women show that opportunities for achievement on the job are not equally available between the sexes. This condition exists even at the colleges and universities where most department heads prefer to hire male faculty and researchers. In a few places of employment women seem to be given some opportunities traditionally extended only to men that include union memberships and managerial positions. For the most part, however, the Czechoslovakian women who work outside the home are relegated to positions that are secondary to those occupied by men.

Women are given paid maternity leaves. Some places of employment provide day care centers and kindergarten facilities. The latter, however, may suffer a setback because they are considered as the government's responsibility.

Marriage and divorce

According to Dagmar Obereigner, a fellow with the Institute of Current World Affairs who has been studying the political and social changes in Czechoslovakia, women in Czechoslovakia tend to marry at 21.5 years of age or even younger. The most frequent reasons for marriage are pregnancy, social pressures, desire for independence from parents, and economic necessity. Divorce is high. One out of every 2 marriages in Prague and 1 out of every 3 marriages in other areas end in divorce. The most common reasons for divorce are economic, lack of leisure time, and pressure from in-laws, and incompatibility.

Abortion and birth control

The extent to which abortion is practised is unknown, although the Ministry of Health states that there are 10 times as many abortions as there are contraceptions. The Catholic Church is strongly opposed to abortion, but supports planned parenthood.

Wife abuse

Without any exception, the 5 women interviewed for this part of this report showed surprise at the question about wife abuse and, without any exception, all 5 said they did not know of any cases of wife abuse. One interviewee said there did not seem to be any cases of wife abuse in Czechoslovakia because the wives, especially the young ones, tended to obtain a divorce following a first physical attack by their husbands.

Social-Personality Psychology

Some government administrators described the difficulty of leading the people of Czechoslovakia because they are just starting to learn the meaning of freedom. Many years of not having freedom has had its toll on the people. They are not used to having many options and the opportunities to become creative, think for themselves, and assume responsility for their decisions. Ludec Kolman, Ph. D., a psychologist with the Ministry of Environment, described the people's conflicts as stemming from not knowing how to use their freedom and make choices. Dr. Kolman also viewed the people as being influenced by their own mythical thinking that there was no need to take care of social and cultural problems because they would take care of themselves. Another myth was that belief was quite important; as long as belief was there, problems would disappear. Dr. Kolman described the people as being willing to learn, hence workshops should be given to provide training in the areas of how to use freedom, make wise choices, and resolve conflicts through mediation.

Observations of people in various business places show that they are not materialistic, not competitive, non-aggressive, and overly trusting. A Fulbright seminar participant will always be remembered for saying that he "could have shoplifted the whole city of Prague" and also could have easily got away with it.

The people like the democratic form of government because they can say/write whatever they want to; however, they also feel anxious because under the present government they lack economic security. While the move to privatize property ownership and businesses evokes positive reactions among some people, it also causes others to have doubts regarding their ability to present valid evidence of ownership of property that had been forcibly taken from them by the previous government. Still others feel they lack the financial capability to buy shares of desired properties and/or businesses or lease such properties and/or businesses in cases where ownership of them is totally out of the question.

Since the 1989 Revolution there has been a proliferation of political parties in Czechoslovakia. It could be hypothesized that this condition is an enthusiastic reaction (or overreaction) from not having any voice in government matters under the Communist regime to having one under the present government. There also are overlaps in some goals held by some parties. It is probable that in the future some of these parties will find superordinate goals that will result in coalitions.

Consumption of Alcohol and Other Drugs

Alcohol is undoubtedly the most widely consumed drug, because it is the most easily obtainable and least expensive. At a brewery in Plzen, questions that were asked included whether there were brewery employees who had drinking problems and how were they dealt with. The questions were ignored.

Out in the countrysides there were poppy fields that were supposedly cultivated for medicinal purposes. It is unknown whether that presently is the only use for the plant, whether it is a major cash crop, whether use of heroin and morphine are being abused. It is also unkown what other drugs are being used.

Media & Attitude Change

The government still maintains some control of the media and thereby continues to have influence on the public's attitudes and attitude changes. Measures are being taken to change children's educational programs but are expected to take time due to shortage of funds. There is interest in how to prepare some programs in certain areas such prevention of drug abuse and AIDS.

American influence is evident in the various media.

Prejudice and discrimination:

Prejudice and discrimination are quite evident in Czechoslovakia, especially against the Gypsies, although the same attitude exists toward the other minorities. According to the Vice-Minister at the Department of Human Rights, relative to Slovak Republic, the Czechs are considered as a minority, while relative to the Czech Republic, the Slovaks are classified as a minority. Other minorities include the Jews, Hungarians, Vietnamese, and Poles. Only the Gypsies, the Jews and the Vietnamese will be discussed below.

A. The Gypsies

Depending on the available sources of information, the number of gypsies in Czechoslovakia ranges from 200,000 to 400, 000.

According to the most recent census, the number apparently is smaller because many of the them claim to be of another racial extraction. Apparently, their largest settlement is in Kosice.

The Gypsies appear to be at the lowest rungs of the economic, political, cultural, social, and educational ladders. They seem to have a high rate of unemployment, partly due to prejudice against them. They are blamed for many crimes (theft, robbery, rapes, murder, etc.) and considered bad employment risks. Drawbacks to the Gypsies' employability are their nomadic way of life and lack of education and training. Being close to the the bottom of the minorities heap, if not at the very bottom, they usually are the first to be let go when a place of employment undergoes retrenchment. Thus it is not surprising that many of them live at or below the country's poverty level.

In politics and government the Gyspies are quite underrepresented. Only few attain elective or appointive government positions. It is unknown how many of them vote, if at all.

The Gypsies prefer to be called Roms, and have their own language (known as Romany), culture, and history. They would like to have a nation of their own, but where they would like this to be, they themselves do not seem to know. The values held by the Gypsies include the basic values for physiological survival, as well as other material things, family and community, freedom, and integration. The value for family is evident in the size of the average Gypsy family which has 1 to 8 children; the average non-Gypsy family has only 1 or 2. The value for freedom finds expression in the Gypsies' nomadic way of life and tendency to be oriented toward the present rather than the future. While integration is a goal, the Gypsies, view it as secondary to their value for cultural identity.

Apparently, there is a Gypsy museum in Brno and a department for Gypsies at Charles University in Prague, but it not known what aspects of the Gypsy culture the museum has formally investigated and recorded, and attempts to preserve.

There does not seem to be much social interaction between the Gypsies and the other racial groups in Czechoslovakia. The Gypsies have been viewed with resentment by other groups who feel the Gypsies have received so many privileges from the government, but have done little or nothing to fulfill their responsibilities as citizens of Czechoslovakia. Not socially accepted by these other people, the Gypsies have been victimized, especially by skinheads. Thus the Gypsy interacts only with other Gypsies. Various forms of social interaction, including intermarriage, between them and other Czechoslovakians are rare and, according to the Gypsies themselves, tend to be unsuccessful.

The Gypsies are perceived as not having much interest in education. They rank lowest in educational achievement. The government has provided educational opportunities for the

Gypsies, e. g. preschool education and programs to teach them the Czech and Slovak languages. The Gypsy students are taught skills. For the girls there are training schools that provide enrichment. However, despite these opportunities, most of the Gypsies do not complete higher education. The few that do eventually return to the Gypsy community whose pull seems to be irresistible and from which they understandably derive a sense of group belonging. Unfortunately, they also regress to old behavioral patterns and do not use their formal education to achieve self-actualization, help other less educated Gypsies, and become role models for them. Thus the few who finish college do not achieve much success in any aspect of Czechoslovakian life. This seems to be a reason many other Czechoslovakians feel the opportunities extended by the government to the Gysies are wasted.

Due to the Gypsies' values for family and motherhood for their women, and the fact they do not practice birth control, it is probable the Gypsy population will continue to increase.

The Vice-Minister of the Department of Human Rights feels that the Gypsies are not the only minority that is threatened in Czechoslovakia. Other minorities are also at risk. For this reason, he feels there should be laws to protect all minorities. The Vice-Minister acknowleges that the Gypsies want to be legalized as a minority and that they are a national minority. He feels that to solve their social problems, attempts should be made to organize social programs that would eliminate stereotypes and integrate the Gypsy children in the educational system instead placing them in special education classes.

B. The Jews

According to Dr. Tomas Kraus, Director of the Federation of Jewish Coomunities in the Czech Republic, before the 1989 Revolution there were only 900 Jews in Prague. Recent population estimates seem to indicate an increase in their number. In Prague 1,400 Jews are registered members of the Jewish Federation, while at least 3, 000 are not registered.

In the past discrimination against the Jews in Czechoslovakia included close observations and restrictions of their activities. Apparently, other churches experienced the same problems, but the restrictions imposed upon the Jews were different in some ways. Feelings against the Jews included anti-Zionism, but not anti-Semitism. Presently, however, anti-Semitism appears to be on the rise due to Hungarian, Russian and political influences. A recent survey of journalists in Bratislava indicated some people's perception of the Jews as being one of the 2 major groups that benefitted from the 1989 Revolution. (The other group is the West.) The survey seems to have fueled apprehensions that Slovakia would become a Gypsy/Jewish state.

It seems the greatest monument in Czechoslovakia to prejudice against and inhumanity towards the Jews is the Terecin prison where thousands came through and thousands were killed during WWII. Hopefully, the lessons of the prison are well learned, well remembered, and never repeated.

There does not appear to be a strong Zionist movement among the Jews in Czechoslovakia, but there seems to be a heightening of their religous fervor.

The Jews are in the professions and have been establishing networks with Jews in Europe and the United States.

C. The Vietnamese

The Vietnamese are perhaps the largest Asian minority in Czechoslovakia. They tend to stay in closed communities. A number of them work at Skoda Factory where they receive wages, but not social security or state retirement benefits. Should economic conditions necessitate retrenchment, the Vietnamese workers probably be the first to be laid off. Having only temporary visas, they may not become citizens of Czechoslovakia. Considering the country's economic problems, the Ministry of Education has strong reservations about the government's support for the Vietnamese students.

THE POLITICS OF PASSION AND THE POLITICS OF RATIONALITY: A COMPARISON OF ETHNIC CONFLICT IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

Fulbright Research Report
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PREFACE

In my application for the Fulbright-Hays Seminar Abroad program. I proposed as my research project a comparative study of ethnic conflict in the two federalist nations of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The outbreak of armed conflict in Yugoslavia prevented our Fulbright group from going on to that country from Czechoslovakia. I have decided. though. to carry out my original project. despite our inability to travel to Yugoslavia. I therefore submit this research report. The sections dealing with Czechoslovakia are based largely on our interviews with people in that country. The Yugoslav section is necessarily based on documentary sources.

During the four and a half weeks that we were in Czechoslovakia. we traveled to the three largest cities. Bratislava. Brno and Prague. and to about ten small towns and villages. We talked to all kinds of people -- mayors. city council members. political party leaders. professors. clergymen. social workers. labor leaders. and farm and factory managers.

One of the people we interviewed was a Catholic archbishop. a Slovak. He was one of the most intelligent and delightful people we met. energetic. merry. and tolerant. We asked him about the growing disunion occurring in the country between the Czechs and the Slovaks. Since the Czech and Slovak people threw off the Communists in 1989. they have been laying the groundwork for a democratic. capitalist state and they were in the midst of writing a constitution while we were there. We were aware of the argument raging over what form the nation should take -- a unified nation. like the old Czechoslovakia. a federation. with power somehow divided between the national government and the two republics. a confederation with an alliance of some kind between the two republics. or two separate nations.

The Archbishop said that the Catholic Church had no official position on the subject. but he himself was for a confederation. He explained his choice with a story: "It is like a family with two sons. One wants to get married and move out of the house and the mother says. 'Why do you want to go away? Stay at home.' But you can move away a few houses and visit and then be good friends." We asked him more questions about relations between the Czechs and Slovaks and he kept talking and then after about ten minutes this most benign and intelligent man told a different story: "The Czechs say they support us. We say they rob us. A mother has a four room house and you and your brother. And she leaves two rooms to each. And your brother grabs three and leaves you one and then calls you a separatist."[1]

The change between those two stories indicates why ethnicity and ethnic conflicts are so dynamic and dangerous. Communism did not solve the problems of ethnicity and ethnic differences: it alternatively smothered and manipulated them. Once the Communist party fell from power in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. all these different peoples who had been enclosed in what has been described as a prisonhouse of nationalities resurfaced. with all of the misunderstandings and even hatreds that had always been there. And the problem with ethnic conflict is that the more people talk about their differences and grievances. the deeper and more insoluable they become.

While we were in Washington D.C. in an orientation session. Dr. Walter Roberts. an expert on Yugoslavia. argued that the country would remain united because to do anything else would be irrational. Fulbright participant. Dr. Henry Steck. disagreed with him and said. "Ethnic politics is the politics of memory. of passion. Nationalistic principles war against economic rationality."[2]

I think he is right. Ethnic politics __is__ a politics of memory and of passion. Ethnic politics is also a kind of politics difficult for Americans to understand. We instinctively shy away from it. Czechs and Slovaks constantly said to us -- you Americans don't understand. The city manager of Zilina. Miroslav Adamek. said. "If you in the West won't discuss the meaning of the word nation. you won't understand the meaning of the Yugoslav movement. the European Community. the Kurdish movement. the Palestinians."[3] He's right. for we understand the word nation very differently.

To the Slovaks. Czechs. Croats. Serbs. nation has an organic meaning. It means a people of the same blood. who live in an ancestral homeland. and share a unique historical experience. We Americans. however. are all immigrants. a vast variety of people from many different countries who crossed the ocean to a new land. We invented the idea that you could learn to be American. that anyone could learn to be American. To become an American is to be a successful pupil. To become a Croat or a Slovak is to be born a blood brother.

Given that. I would like to suggest that ethnic conflicts can arise out of different origins and can have different resolutions. I would argue. on the basis of an examination of the histories of various nations around the world. that there are three different sources of ethnic conflict.

The first comes out of the colonial experience when Britain. France. Germany. and the other imperialist powers. allowed or forced large groups of people to migrate to another people's land. Fiji is an example. The British brought so many Indians to the Fijian Islands to work in the sugar cane fields that when

Fiji got its independence in 1970 there were actually more Indians there than native Fijians.

A second kind of ethnic conflict comes out of decades, sometimes centuries of warfare, where people of different cultures have been killing one another for generations. This is true of Yugoslavia and also of many parts of the Soviet Union. For centuries the Croats and the Serbs were the cutting edges of two warring civilizations: Croat lands formed the border of the Latin Catholic peoples; Serb lands, the border of the Orthodox, Byzantine peoples. Yugoslavia is made up of a cacophony of people -- Slovenes, Serbs, Croats, Albanians, Hungarians, Muslims, Montenegrins. During the Second World War, one-tenth of the population of Yugoslavia was killed: half of them, not by the Nazis, but by fellow Yugoslavs. That's as if in this country of 250 million Americans, 25 million had died in World War II, twelve million of them killed by fellow Americans.

A third kind of ethnic conflict arises out of isolation, a situation in which two or more peoples who share basically the same land area have been separated from one another for generations. They develop differently socially, economically, culturally and politically. They don't have experience in working together or in understanding one another and one is usually more backward, less developed, less recognized than the other, or feel themselves to be. This is what happened to Czechoslovakia and, I would argue, in Canada as well, between the French and English Canadians. The Czechs and Slovaks are both Slavic peoples, part of the western European traditions. They were both Latin Catholics. They could and can each understand the other's language. They were briefly united in the 900s: then the Hungarians conquered the Slovaks and the Slovaks and Czechs were separated for 1000 years. They were isolated from one another: they developed differently: but there is no history of warfare. of bloodshed between them.

When ethnic conflicts arise out of isolation. there is a much greater chance for the country to work out differences and remain unified. or. even if separation comes. for the separation to be peaceful and legally done. There is a chance that the politics of rationality will win out over the politics of passion. When ethnic conflicts arise out of centuries of bloodshed. the politics of passion is much more likely to sweep everything else aside.

An expert on ethnic conflict. Dr. Norman Itzkowitz of Princeton University. says that severe ethnic conflict arises when a series of conditions is present. 1. The belief that if you have no nation. you have no self: 2. The concept exists of historical grievances: 3. An intergenerational transmission of attitudes -- you learn from forebears to hate the other: 4. Demonization of the other -- the other is not human: 5. The egoism of victimization -- only your suffering is important: 6. War is seen as therapy: 7. The inability to mourn the dead on the other side. so you can't mourn at all -- even your own dead.[4]

All of these things are true in Yugoslavia. Blaine Harden. a journalist who has covered Yugoslavia for many years. wrote the following: "Serbs who number more than 8 million and Croats who number about 4.5 million. are southern Slavs who speak the same language and look very much alike but when they look at each other, eyesight is far less important than memory and myth."

He then describes the stereotypical picture Croats have of Serbs -- how Croats see Serbs: "Congenital liars who wear beards. They cannot be trusted with public or private money. Their taste for authoritarianism makes them unacceptable to the democratic West. Their mystical Oriental traditions make them poor businessmen. They prefer the pageantry of war to an honest day's work. They are bent on hegemonic conquest of Croatia -- but they are cowards."

He describes then how Serbs see Croats: "Croats are plodding burghers who put on West European airs while harboring fascist fantasies. Obsessed with flags and pompous ceremony, they are agents of a timeless Roman Catholic conspiracy against the Serbian Orthodox Church. Given a chance, they will repeat the genocidal excesses of World War II. They are bent on driving Serbs from their historic lands -- but they are cowards."[5] Historical grievances, the demonizing of the other.

A Croat policeman living in an area besieged by the Serbs, festooned his house with Croatian flags, strapped on a gun, and waited. "I leave this home only if I am dead. I mustn't be afraid for my sons. If they die, they die for Croatia."[6] The intergenerational transmission of attitudes, war as therapy, the inability to mourn even one's own dead.

If we apply Itzkowitz's characteristics of severe ethnic conflict to Czechoslovakia, where, I argue, ethnic conflict arose out of isolation instead of bloodshed, we find a much more hopeful picture.

In March, 1990, the New York Times reported: "While ethnic frictions elsewhere in Eastern Europe have led to clubbings and shootings, in this nation of gentility and literary tradition, the Czechs and Slovaks are locked in a different type of ethnic battle, one over a hyphen."[7] The first signs of ethnic unrest in Czechoslovakia emerged as the federal assembly tried to find a new name for the country. Its old Communist name had been the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Both the Czechs and Slovaks agreed that they wanted to drop the word Socialist but the Czechs just wanted to call their nation the Czechoslovak Republic. The Slovaks insisted on the Federation of Czecho-Slovakia. They wanted to insist on greater Slovak rights by specifying their country a federation and to heighten status by separating and capitalizing Slovakia. One Slovak complained to us that to foreignors everyone in the country was a Czech and that that simply wasn't true. The members of the federal assembly finally compromised on the rather cumbersome name, The Czech and Slovak Federative Republic.

There is a sense among the Slovaks that they have been treated as junior partners in Czechoslovakia. "We have been a colony since 1918," Zilina's city manager, Miroslav Adamek, complained.[8] There is some desire for separation and nationhood. Ivan Tuskco, the director of international studies at a Slovak university said, "The problem of Slovakia is not nationalism in a negative sense. The problem of Slovakia is that it never had a chance to become a nation. The question is, in international law has Slovakia the right to be a nation? We want this clarified.

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But," he added cautiously, "just because you have the right, you need not exercise it. You might think too of security, economic development, etc."[9] Polls show that only 12 per cent of Slovaks want a separate Slovakia, their own nation. Only three of the people we talked to, national, republic and local leaders, said they wanted a nation of their own. Most people talked in terms of more rights, more autonomy.

There is also some sense of grievance but it is not as historically long as in Yugoslavia or as terrible. When the country was formed in 1918, Slovakia was very underdeveloped and had almost no educated people. The Czechs necessarily had to go into Slovakia and fill many of the technical/professional jobs. But, say the Slovaks, they stayed too long and they perpetuated themselves. A vice premier, in the federal government, a Slovak, said, "Before World War II, 90 per cent of the important posts in Slovakia were held by Czechs. At first this was necessary, because the Slovaks were uneducated, but by World War II that wasn't true. My father wanted to be a school teacher but he couldn't."[10]

This shows historical grievance and intergenerational transmission of attitudes but at a low level. There is a lot of difference between remembering that your father couldn't be a schoolteacher and remembering that the Croats killed 1 1/2 million Serbs in World War II. Despite his remembering his father's failed career, this man was a member of the federal parliament, working to resolve differences between the republics and the central government. He alluded to these saying, "We are trying to get individual rights but also republic rights. It is like the discussion between the state and federal governments in the U.S."[11]

Most important of all, neither the Czechs nor the Slovaks demonize each other and they do not see war as therapy. The Czechs and Slovaks recognized that they had somewhat different characters. They criticized each other, but they also recognized good qualities in one another. The vice premier said, "The Czechs went into the villages in Slovakia and they were democrats, liberals, while the villagers were more religious, conservative, and so there was friction. This is true today to some extent."[12] Sociologist Jiri Musil, a Czech, described the two peoples this way: "Czechs are more skeptical, more urban. As you go from west to east in Czechoslovakia, the more religious you get, but also the fewer suicides and divorces."[13] This is not demonization, de-humanization of the other.

When Croatia and Slovenia voted to secede from Yugoslavia and become independent nations, James Baker, our secretary of state, tried to warn Yugoslav leaders that unrest in their country could be a disaster for the region and for Europe as a whole. The Montenegrin leader replied, "Mr. Secretary, I'm prepared to take that risk."[14] After the referendum, a Serbian said, "We're preparing to fight. The referendum does not exist for us. If Croatia becomes independent we have already voted to join Mother Serbia."[15] As Slovak demands for more autonomy or even secession mounted last spring, President Vaclav Havel, a Czech, went to Slovakia to meet with officers of the Czechoslovak Army there and give assurances to the public that force would not be used to impede the formation of a separate Slovak state if a majority of Slovaks chose that course. In his state of the union address in January 1991, Havel said, "I wish all Slovaks success in building an autonomous and economically independent republlic. I believe that it will be a republic of love and pride for all its citizens. I wish the same to all the Czechs. I believe that their republic will be a republic of wisdom and tolerance for all its citizens."[16] Both Czechs and Slovaks assured us that if separation came, it would be peaceful and legal. They have no sense of war as therapy.

President Havel himself recently rejected a comparison of Czech and Slovak ethnic conflict with that of warring Yugoslavia, and he did so on the basis of their historical differences. His statement underlines this analysis of the politics of passion and the politics of rationality: "I think it is very improbable that our dispute could lead to violent conflict. It is not in our tradition. We have never been at war with one another."[17]

FOOTNOTES

1. Archbishop Sokol. Interview. Nitra. Czechoslovakia. July 7. 1991.

2. Dr. Henry Steck. Fulbright orientation session. Washington. D.C.. June 23. 1991.

3. Miroslav Adamek. Interview. Zilina. Czechoslovakia. June 28. 1991.

4. Dr. Norman Itzkowitz. Lecture. "Psychological Aspects of Conflict Resolution with Special Reference to the Middle East." Whitman College. Walla Walla. Washington. February 5. 1991.

5. Blaine Harden. "Myth and Memory in Yugoslavia: A House Divided Risks Civil War." Washington Post. June 23. 1991. B2.

6. Ibid.

7. Steven Greenhouse. "What's in a Hyphen? For the Slovaks. Plenty." New York Times. March 28. 1991. A4.

8. Miroslav Adamek. Interview. Zilina. Czechoslovakia. June 28. 1991.

9. Ivan Tuskco. Interview. Comenius University. Bratislava. Czechoslovakia. June 27. 1991.

10. Vice Premier Miklosuo. Interview. Prague. Czechoslovakia. July 15. 1991.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Dr. Jiri Musil. Interview. Czech Academy of Sciences. Prague. Czechoslovakia. July 15. 1991.

14. Russell Watson. et. al.. "Fire in the Balkans." Newsweek. July 8. 1991. 33.

15. Chuck Sudetic. "Croatia Votes for Sovereignty and Confederation." New York Times. May 20. 1991. A3.

16. Vaclav Havel. "The New Year in Prague." New York Review. March 7. 1991. 20.

17. Henry Kamm. "As Slovak Separatism Gains. Havel Faces the Unthinkable." New York Times. November 20. 1991.

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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
CENTRAL WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

Sociology 360
Community Organization and Structure in Czechoslovakia
Period Four

Spring Term
Prof. D. Kaufman
Farrell 417

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syllabus syllabus syllabus syllabus syllabus

Texts:

Phillip Fellin. The Community and the Social Worker. Itasca, IL.: Peacock Publishers, Inc.; 1987
Roland L. Warren and Larry Lyon. Eds. New Perspectives on the American Community. (5ed) Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press; 1988

Additional assigned readings are available in the Sociology office and are listed with an asterisk (*) on the reading list. Other materials may be circulated for your commentary during the quarter.

Course Objectives:

The study of community life is one of the oldest and richest fields of inquiry in the discipline of sociology. It consists of a critical examination of populations living together. Through the process of sociological research on community life we have a better understanding of how human groups resolve conflicts and become prosperous.

The general goal of this course is an examination of the significant transformations of values, expectations and social organization upon community life due to cultural and technological change in cross-cultural perspective during the last years of this century. The topics to be discussed are: **a)** the role of the community as a context or environment for group participation; **b)** personal and socio-economic conditions that influence community growth and survival strategies; and **c)** the evolution of alternative collective and community patterns that are likely to evolve between now and the end of the century as socialist systems are transformed into market ones.

Work in this class will involve a critical look at different "theoretical" and cultural perspectives on the community and conclude with (hopefully) an identification of those "qualities" of human collective living that are necessary for human survival and the role cultural identity plays in this process in post communist society.

Evaluation:

There will not be a mid-term or a final exam in the course. Your grade will depend upon three things: a) Participation in class discussions (25%); b) Participation in the community life project (50%) and c) Completion of exercises and quizzes passed out at the end of each section (25%).

Term Project:

The class will actively examine in a cross-cultural perspective facets of community life associated with community development and practice. Any issues discussed in class may be utilized as the foundation for this work. Project topics may focus on institutional, organizational, and/or structural characteristics of community life and how these effect community quality of life. A variety of social problems likely to occur in the community must be brought into the discussion (e.g.; ethnic tension, industrial pollution, political conflict, market values). Their treatment and correction by various social agencies and civic programs should form the body of the analysis. Physical and ecological changes in a community and the "cost/benefit" related to social and land use frictions can also be addressed in the project.

Course Outline and Reading List:

I. What is a Community?

Issue I: Community organization is a major focus of social policy in most if not all industrial nations. For example, in Czechoslovakia where one finds housing projects in nearly every town and village, measures are taken to limit out-migration. Housing functions to serve the growing population in an efficient and cheap way. Ornamentation and and personal taste are not considered. Infrastructure can be neglected in one or the other system, but in a centralized economy, building development tends to be a response to the birth rate.

Issue II: Regional planning principles are based upon the equalization of living conditions everywhere. Local governments are responsible for stabilizing population movement. As the population of a place increased there would be a call for additional high-rises to accommodate the growing numbers of young couples and children. And there was a job for everyone. Factory formation and expansion became a part of the community planning process through the support of the central political apparatus. A measure of community development is how many people build vacation homes or tend a sizeable garden plot in a village some distance from home.

Readings:
Warren and Lyon, Chapter 15 (Vidich and Bensman) & Chapter 14 (Stein), Chapter 17 (Warren), Chapter 42 (Warren) & Chapter 45 (Lynch)
Fellin, Chapter 1
*Cottrell, "Death by Dieselization"
*Michal Illner, "Problems of Local Government in the Czech Republic (Past, Present and Future)"
*Michal Illner, "First Steps Toward Local Democracy - The Election Year 1990 in a Czech Municipality"
Slide presentation on Community development in Slovakia and the Czech Lands

II. Doing Community Research

Issue I: Community life forms the foundation for most of the associations we make early in life and it is in communities that we make our homes. The community is the link between the primary relationships of the family and the secondary relationships of the larger society.

Issue II: Communities provide the requirements for social groups to meet their everyday needs. The sociological definition of a community is the organization of social activities which afford people broad access to activities necessary to their day-to-day survival.

Readings:
Warren and Lyon, Chapter 12 (Lyon), Chapter 13 (Bell and Newby), Chapter 20 (Hunter), Chapter 28 (Sanderson), Chapter 8 (Wellman and Leighton) & Chapter 33 (Whyte)
Fellin, Chapter 2
*Tilly, "Anthropology on the Town"
*Institute of Sociology. Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. "Information about the 'Local Democracy and Innovation' Research Project - The Czech Section"
Slide presentation on regional variation in land uses

III. Theoretical Dimensions of Community

Issue I: People "naturally" cluster together to solve the problems associated with every-day life. The community is where individuals and families carry on their daily obligations to one another that result from the social roles they occupy. In every modern industrial society, offices, shops, schools, homes, churches and factories are where these social responsibilities unfold.

Issue II: Information on who lives in a community, how neighborhoods are distinguished from one another, what parts of a place are allocated to industrial or education or residential uses, what mix of land uses is there, and what are the significant social problems present in the community form the basis of an ecological study of community.

Issue III: Approaches to environmental problems differ among nations and across cultures. In the Czechoslovak case pollution problems consist of both sulfur dioxide and heavy metals which are the result of mercury emissions from electro-plating plants and the use of brown coal for heating and electrical generation. In this society, environmentalists believe that environmental matters must be combined with political and economic issues. They do not favor first working on economic problems and then on others, as one cannot be fixed before the other. For example, burning soft or "brown" coal in plants sends tons of hydro-carbons into the atmosphere. It has been discovered that this coal consists of many radioactive components making it dangerous to populations in additional ways. Industrial use of this coal is fifty percent higher than the European average.

Readings: Warren and Lyon, Chapter 4 (Park), Chapter 5 (Wirth), Chapter 11 (Warren), Chapter & Chapter 35 (Reitzes and Reitzes)
Fellin, Chapters 3 & 4
*Jiri Patocka. "Traditions of Self-government and Local Politics in Czech Province in the Post-was period"
*Pavel Machonin. "Basic Knowledge, theoretical and methodological premises of the research in transformation of social structure"

IV. Values and Social Relationships in the Community

Issue I: Social bonding is the process by which people rank one another, treat one another in public, isolate themselves or are isolated by others into distinctive groups in the community and apply social values such as family or religious ones to their daily activities. Because people identify themselves to others in a community through their beliefs and attitudes it useful to know about some of the commonly held beliefs held by individuals in a community.

Issue II: Groups generally participate in community life in joint ways with some to accomplish their political and social agendas and deny involvement in community life to others. Patterns of joint participation evolve over time and this effects community goals and group identification.

Readings:
Warren and Lyon, Chapter 16 (Caplow, et.al.), Chapter 3 (Simmel), Chapter 24 (Fava), Chapter 27 (Leinberger and Lockwood)
Fellin, Chapters 5, 6 & 7
*Williams, "Strategies for Growing up Small"
*A. Flaccavento. "Making the Connection Between Values and Community Development Strategies"
*Jiri Vecernik. "Czechoslovakia and the West: Earnings and Income Distribution"
Slide presentation on the architecture on Czechoslovakia

V. Social Problems, Social Issues and Social Policy in the Community

Issue I: Events which take place in the larger society often manifest themselves in local ways. Throughout the industrial world much of the social and economic basis of community life has been transformed from close locally based associations into larger societal based social networks.

Issue II: The glue that holds people together in a modern community is likely to consist of one part local sentiment and symbolism, and one part organizational special interests, as much controlled from outside the community as from within. Local decision makers and their most important social activities is the place to look for knowledge about social change in the community. Decision makers can be people who have only recently moved to the community or they can be old-timers long committed to the social life and prosperity of the place.

Issue III: Voluntary organizations advance social change through their civic activities and their financial contributions to special groups. Money spent in the community on social needs directly affects the welfare of community members. Migration to and from the community is sometimes a result of the social and economic orientations of a community. Who chooses to move to a community or leave a community may depend upon job skills, family orientations even ethnicity.

Readings:
Warren and Lyon, Chapter 40 (Khinduka), Chapter 31 (Galaskiewicz)
Fellin, Part Three
*Federal Committee for the Environment. The Environment in Czechoslovakia
*Lubomir Paroha. "some Key Facts On the North Bohemian Basin Area"
*Ministry of the Environment. "Concept of State Ecological Policy"
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GODDESS IMAGES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

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The sun shone brilliantly overhead as we craned our necks to see the oncoming parade. Music swirled towards us, evocative mountain songs from Moravia, the central of three regions of Czechoslovakia; Slovakia is to the east, Bohemia to the west. We had taken a wild taxi ride over these mountains to Strasnice, a small village known for its folk festivals to see the costume and dancing of villagers from the entire country.

Glittering with beads and ribbons, the bridal headdresses of the women could be seen first. Their vests were covered with dense satin stitched embroidery while their deep blue.aprons, edged in white lace, echoed the colored flowers that bloomed at the roadsides in summertime. Cross-stitched sleeves on their sparkling white blouses and shiny red boots completed their costume.

Behind them men dressed in elaborate leather vests, embroidered with large flowers, white pants couched in braid and large white feathers trailing from their hats, played long alpine horns. We marveled as each new village appeared around the corner. Every group wore the dress unique to it's area, some rode horses or were drawn in large wooden carts. Old and young, all partook of the gaiety.

Soon, musicians piped a tune and the skirts began to whirl, the boots to stamp. We found ourselves in the midst of wild dancing, swirling around us were the wide embroidered aprons of the women, the long capes of the men. The opportunity to see folk dress actually worn by people and displayed in dances is what we had traveled so far to see.

Part parade, part county fair, the Czechoslovakian folk festivals provide a unique opportunity for embroiderers and researchers to see costume the way it was designed to be worn; for feastdays and festivals in the countryside. One cannot really understand why a pleated skirt is embroidered only on the inner folds of the pleats until a resplendant woman, her hands aloft and her braids and ribbons flying, twirls around and her pleated skirt opens out into a rosette of color, the embroideries flashing out from each pleat.

Clearly, one cannot see the ornate clothing of Czechoslovakian villages without questioning how these pieces originated. We know from pre-history that linen and woolen cloth was produced here since Paleolithic times. Neolithic examples were already interwoven with gold threads, but it was not until the Celts arrived in the area about 400 BC that the hems of clothes are actually embroidered with red thread.

Throughout the Christian period much ecclesiastical material survived, but few folk pieces. Indeed the majority of folk embroideries in national collections date only from the 17, 18 and 19th centuries. The addition of colored embroidery to the clothing of the people came about as the result of increased economic opportunity. The huge profusion of design and embroidered fabric, in all of Eastern Europe, comes primarily from the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Curiously, although the embroideries are relatively recent, their motifs are ancient. Solar symbols, trees of life, animal, bird and floral motifs and geometric figures can all be traced back to pre-historic times. These motifs are common on the costume and textile items not only because of their beauty, but because they had meaning and importance in an agricultural setting. The motifs were believed to cause crops to grow, to make women pregnant and to protect the wearers from harm.

One such motif, the figure of the Mother Goddess, is particularly prominent on items of ritual apparel and ritual fabrics. She occurs on the women's caps (cepec) which protect their hair from view and are indicators of their married status, on aprons which cover their sexual parts and the large linen cloths (plachti) which wrap and protect both people and the objects they use.

I first saw this Mother Goddess in the Soviet Union while researching folk textiles at Moscow State University. My advisor pointed out that images of a strong woman's figure, often crowned, could been seen standing between two horses, holding their reins firmly in her outstretched hands. "That is the Great Goddess" he told me, and went on to explain that the figure had been handed down from the pre-Christian past, when agricultural people had worshipped goddesses. He helped me to find numerous examples of embroidered and woven goddesses in the Russian textile collections.

Before traveling to Czechoslovakia, I had written to the curator of textiles the National Museum of Slovakia in Bratislava to share my research with her, and I had received discouraging news. "There are," wrote Dr. Eva Pisutova, "no goddesses in Slovakia." I persisted, however, sent her copies of the Russian embroideries I had already found, and asked her to search carefully.

She was smiling as she led me into her high office in the tower of the castle. Far below, the Danube river flowed peacefully. Within the room, however, large piles of materials, books and papers, paintings and graphics, all vied for the attention of the wondering visitor. "Don't you want to see what I found?" she questioned as she uncovered a large mound of textiles.

I was astonished to see the large linen cloths she unfolded. They had all been made in villages close to Bratislava, and each had a border of goddesses, or had individual goddess figures embroidered in red. On one cloth, the goddess was found accompanied by double-headed birds, on another the goddess topped a large flowering tree.

I recalled a ritual performed by Slovak women in the spring. Called the "Bringing in New Summer", women would decorate a flowering branch with ribbons, decorated eggs, birds and, at the top, they would place a goddess figure, the "New Summer". Bringing the branch into the village signalled the return of the season of fertility. One woman, not content to reenact this ritual, enshrined it on her shawl, a remnant of history, on the fabric she created. That cloth, showing the goddess with flowers in her hair standing atop a flowering tree of life, was carefully worked in red cross-stitch on white linen.

At the time, I assumed that these Slovak dieties had been influenced by the Russian embroideries and this theory was confirmed by V. Prazak, whose SLOVAK FOLK EMBROIDERY contains this observation:

"The horse motif is very common in Russia, usually it consists of two facing horses with riders while a woman between, holds the bridles... In Russia, there are examples showing several stages of development: originally the figures are very clear, then the riders are deformed into trees or flowers, then the central woman looses her head and the horse becomes double-headed, finally the woman becomes a flower or a tree. In the final stage, the figures become abstract shapes, no longer recognisable as animal or plant. Slovaks probably got this motif from Russia, adopting only part of the scene...possibly embroidery samples were brought back to Slovakia from Russia by peddlars returning home."

Like the Russian goddesses, we can see on Slovak aprons a goddess with upraised hands, who has a tulip or flower-like head. Other goddesses ride stylized horses.

But goddesses are found not only on Slovak cloth, but also in woodcarving. At the National museum, I saw ornate wooden bridal chests, with large repeated figures carved on the sides. Clearly the motif was meant to emphasize the fertility of the bride.

I also found excellent cross-stitch examples in the Folk Art Musuem at Martin, Czechoslovakia. Here in northern Slovakia, it is possible to view the permanent collection and find goddesses embroidered on large "plachti" or ritual shawls. On one example, a large border decoration features a goddess crowned with flowers accompanied by a double-headed bird. On other samples, goddesses are associated with vegetation, hold sprouting vines are are enclosed in a wreath of vines and flowers.

As mentioned earlier, many of the Slovak figures echo actual rituals, enacted in the villages as late as the end of the second World War. One such spring ritual, occurring all over Czechoslovakia, and practiced only by women, was the taking of the "Morena" figure out of the village. The Morena, symbolizing death or winter, was made of sticks, dressed in women's clothes and accompanied out from the village with songs. The figure was either burned in the surrounding fields, or sent down a nearby river or stream. The Morena was replaced by "New Summer", the branch described earlier, which represented new spring life by its decorations of birds, eggs and goddesses.

An alternate ritual protected the village from storms. While two ethnographer friends and I were visiting Velky Lom, a small village in central Slovakia, we interviewed women who described to us the ritual of the "Kisele".

They quite readily supplied details. Both mother and daughter could remember taking part in the festival which was held on the second Sunday after Easter. The practice was continued until after the second World War (1948) and both Anna Adamova (about 50 years old) and her mother who was 78 could remember it well.

Young girls, bringing their embroidered clothing from home, assembled in the village center. They fashioned a woman's figure from straw and two crossed sticks, then dressed it, each contributing a piece.

The figure was dressed in red, and two red cloths hung from her outstretched hands. "She was called the Kisele" they explained, and she protected our houses and fields from storms. If we women did not make a Kisele, our mayor would come to us and beg us to do the ritual. We would make the Kisele in front of his house and only women could make her.

But as the procession formed in the village and wound out into the fields, the women were joined by men and boys who teased the girls by trying to steal parts of the figure's clothing. As they went, the women waved the figure through the air, so that the ritual cloths could dispell the bad weather.

"Take the Kisele out, let us carry it out; let us not keep it at home," they sang. Out in the fields, the figure was dismantled, the sticks and straw were made into a bonfire, and while it was burning, everyone jumped over the flames.

In this ritual we can see how embroidered clothing was lent to the Goddess for her adornment, and how the embroidered ritual cloths which she held were actually thought to control the weather. There are many ethnographic photographs from all parts of Czechoslovakia of this ritual, and it is a glorious sight to see the women, all dressed in brilliant costume, walking through the newly plowed fields with the goddess, similarly resplendant in her borrowed clothing, held high at the head of the village procession.

Other textile collections I visited showed similar goddess figures and ritual cloths. In Brno, the Ethnographic Museum collection yielded a man's shirt embroidered with two black and white cross-stitch rectangles. In each, the goddess was placed in the center, with a large flowering tree growing from her headdress. Red flowers formed her breasts, and her arms were raised to hold flowering branches.

Another interesting group on embroidered panels which originally formed the center part of plachti showed the goddess figure combined with other ancient motifs. Solar, plant, floral and reindeer images repeated themselves down the six-foot length of cloth. When laid out one above the other, I was astonished to note that some of the motifs could be lined up, one above the other. For example, the fertile-field motif appeared only at the beginning of the sequence. Male riders on all three cloths were embroidered mid-way in the sequence, while goddess and tree-of-life motifs were interspersed with birds, deer and flowers.
I deduced that these embroideries may have been some kind of

agricultural calendar similar to those I had documented earlier in the Soviet Union, where planting times, goddess festivals and solstices were clearly embroidered.

The major textile collection in Czechoslovakia (85,000 items) is held by the Ethnographic Museum in Prague. Unfortunately, at the time I visited, all of their holdings were being moved from one storage facility to another. This naturally made it difficult to do extended research, but I was able to document some of the 300 complete costumes stored in a separate facility out of the city in central Bohemia. There I found the goddess figure used, not only as a central motif, but as a repetative border around necks and sleeves of shirts and blouses. This protective device prevented "evil forces" from entering the openings and harming the wearer.

But to the dedicated researcher, large collections are not the only source for information. Small, regional museums, open-air Skansens and folk centers provide a way to view samplers of designs, textile related equipment and regional costume variations.

In Czechoslovakia, the textile collector will also find opportunity to purchase pieces in small museum stores, folklore stores and galleries and even directly from individuals. A folk art store in Prague yielded a beautiful embroidered panel of a goddess holding two birds; books on embroidery and costume were widely available.

In Helpa, a small ethnographic village in Slovakia, we noticed women sitting by the roadside on Sunday afternoon wearing folkdress. Stopping to photograph them, we encouraged them to show us similar embroidered aprons and vests stored at home. These brilliant red, pink and purple embroideries were marvelous to photograph, and we were surprised when our new friends volunteered to dress up for us, even to dress US up. Men, women and children, all wear variations of the heavily embroidered red tambour stitched clothing.

We were even more surprised when we realized that some of the shirts and aprons we were admiring were actually for sale. Men from our group tried on brilliant shirts, the women opted for aprons embellished with sequins and lace, one lucky woman left with a complete Helpa costume. We drove out of the village with many wonderful memories, dazzling photographs and many authentic pieces of folk costume.

Life in agricultural communities changes little, no matter how dramatic the political changes. Returning to Czechoslovakia after two years, I was able to compare life before and life after the "velvet Revolution" Clearly the villages had undergone some transition. No red banners, Lenin statues or photographs of party bureaucrats graced the local squares. Street names had been changed to eliminate mention of Soviet heroes.

Private enterprise had already blossomed in some villages. Vegetable stands, rooms for rent and private "mom and pop" type dry goods stores were easily noticed by their flashy signs. The clean, open roads were already beginning to fill up with advertizing.

One of the most significant changes, I think, has occurred in attitudes, in one case, attitudes towards village embroidery. My friend, Jarmila Patkova, an ethnographer with the Acadeny of Sciences in Bratislava, invited me to accompany her to a small town just west of the city. There, the local mayor, a woman, had gathered in the town hall all the ancient village folk embroidery they could find.

They were planning an exhibition to celebrate the heritage of the village, and wanted us to choose the best pieces of embroidery. The show would highlight the marvelous skills of the local embroiderers and display their most treasured pieces. Thus, it would typify all that was significant and historic in the town.

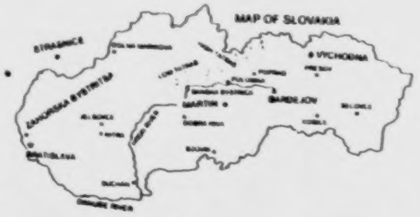
This new consciousness of regional excellence would never have been possible under the old regime. Ethnic particularity was discouraged. Even more, regional or ethnic embroidery was discouraged as not "modern", not "collective". Under the Soviet system women were encouraged to work, and embroidery was not the kind of "work" encouraged. Nontheless, women in this village kept right on doing their traditional embroidery and the tables in the town hall were piled high with white on white eyelet, cross-stitched linen cloths, and silk and satin-stitched vests. Large needlepoint portraits of the Madonna, formerly a forbidded topic, were now proudly displayed. Not the shiny new tractor, but these beautiful old textiles were going to typify this town's wealth and worth in 1991.

Postcards from Czechoslovakia

from Mary Kelly

We arrived in Bratislava and already are seeing beautiful embroideries Today through our guide we found a woman Hermine Szomolanyi who collects and reproduces folk embroideries Her techniques range from white work applique eyelet and single and double cross stitch She also makes bobbin lace and showed us some Christmas ornaments she had fashioned Her collection of folk costumes included glittering women s caps entirely embroidered in brilliant fertility motifs and long ritual cloths in natural linen embroidered in white Yes even on the first day you can see beautiful textiles

EAST GERMANY
BOHEMIA
Prague
WEST GERMANY
MORAVIA
POLAND
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Brno
SLOVAKIA
AUSTRIA
Bratislava
UKRAINE (USSR)
HUNGARY



* * *

Everything is different now in Slovakia Village pride is surfacing as well as individual initiative With ethnographer Jarmila Patkova we visited a small ancient village in the Bratislava area Zahorska Bystritsa whose woman mayor is planning to exhibit the folk embroidery from the village to hilight its long aesthetic history Piled high on long tables at the town hall were antique linen embroidered pieces from village collections We saw handwoven men s shirts embroidered cloths depicting the Madonna and child cross-stitch embroidered hangings which used to be used to protect a mother who had just given birth and large white eyelet tablecloths The exhibit we selected from these and many others will celebrate stitchery as a vital part of village life

* * *

A village woman in Zahosdka Bystritsa invited us to her home to see the local folk costume Both women and men wore blue (equal) and white clothing She dressed her daughter from underclothing made of hand woven linens to stiff organdie embroidered petticoats Over these she placed blue skirts and a highly embroidered white eyelet apron with lace inserts Two stiff lace blouses were held in place by a blue embroidered bodice and the folk dress was crowned by a white satin stitched kerchief As she spun around for us to admire her this young woman reminded us of the many blue and white flowers growing in the village fields Men's costumes were also made of light blue wool with white couching

* * *

Many of the people in my group are interested in buying folk embroideries in Czechoslovakia Because of the favorable exchange rate Americans find themselves with lots of ready money and many pieces are available in cities from folk art stores There both hand embroidered and hand woven textiles are available Some pieces are replicas of antique embroideries others have a more modern look Lace is extremely common in the shops and we have also seen wool crewel and needlepoint in traditional designs

* * *

Everyone here is talking about the economy and the changing of the society to a more capitalistic mode It is interesting to note that embroidery was one way that women in village cultures earned money Of course during the Communistic period any selling of private property wasn t allowed but now I wonder if it won t be possible to purchase embroideries directly from the makers This would allow travelers to approach textile artists reimburse them for their work and go home with wonderful textiles to cherish

* * *

Today we attended the opening of a historic show at the National Art Gallery of Slovakia Titled "Shalom" it exhibited many pieces from Jewish life here pieces which had not been publically seen for 40 50 years The opening was packed not only by the small Jewish community but by

curious Bratislavans Among the interesting textile pieces pieces were gold embroidered velvet cloths gold couched veils red silk appliqued hangings for the Torah and of course the embroidered yellow stars on the simple clothing of the Nazi era Paintings from the Nazi period and some contemporary paintings completed the ground breaking exhibition

* * *

One perfect way to see antique embroideries up close, and actually worn by people is at Slovakia s folklore festivals Yesterday we attended one in Moravian Strasnice, where costumed villagers in elaborate satin stitched headdresses and aprons mingled with differently costumed friends from across Czechoslovakia We could get to talk to the people about the family's treasured embroideries and watch as they danced traditional dances to wild mountain music

* * *

While in Martin Czechoslovakia it would be worthwhile to also visit the Outdoor Museum In established ethnographic museums all textiles are behind glass, but often, in the outdoor museums the textiles are laid out in the houses where they would have been used and it is possible to touch and see up close a wide variety of folk pieces, including handwoven hemp and linen cross-stitched cloths and bed hangings, rugs and floor coverings, and leather coats Don't miss the "linen makers" house which has many antique wooden pieces for cloth production Each house is surrounded by a kitchen garden, and the village includes an old wooden church and working pub Located in an unspoiled valley surrounded by the Tatra mountains, the Martin Outdoor Museum shows folk textiles in their natural surroundings

* * *

One of the lovliest things you can do on a sunny afternoon is to go to an open air museum Here, surrounded by quiet and bird songs, and far from the tourists you can contemplate what 19th century life might have been like I am sitting in such a museum now, the Open Air Museum at Bardejov I've seen looms and flax brakes, and in some of the blue painted houses, woven red and black cloths and bed spreads This is a great lace center, having been originally settled by Germans and the nearby Ethnagraphic Museum has a special collection of white and multi colored lace as well as full folk folk dress from all the surrounding villages Also influenced by German taste the costume here is more sombre and has less embroidery A bright red bird however just fluttered at my elbow and perched on the ancient wooden church steeple

COMMENTARY

We thank Jan Walters for her continuing series of the embroideries of Yugoslavia. In this issue we learn about the Bela Krajina region. The *relicenje* or zig-zag stitch decorates the sleeves of the women's blouses. Jan has provided us with a sampler to try out the stitch variations.

Vivian Wilson and Dorothy Covington supplied us with the Armenian article and the interlaced stitch directions. Both of these stitchers are members of Friends of Counted Embroidery, Columbine Chapter. We are also printing Vivian's ethnic sampler on page 11. This is the result of two years of programs in FCE.

As promised we have our first post cards from Mary Kelly, who is touring Czechslovakia on a textile and museum tour. We have enjoyed her interesting comments and are sure our readers will also.

Mary Ann Cash gets us started with a great holiday idea . . . Stitching a Song. It's an easy project, which we all can try.

We have reworked the Index of our magazine. It is now better categorized, making articles, charts and book reviews, to name a few, easier to find. See page 2.

In September will be visit Iceland and learn about very old stitcheries from their museums. We'll have more patterns and projects for you to try, including a way to become a "green" person.

BOOK REVIEW

The Dong People of China, A Hidden Civilization
By Gail Rossi Hagley & Hoyle Pte Ltd, Singapore 1989
96 pages soft cover $24.95 ISBN 981-00-1551-8

This book is not one we would normally review, as it is a picture book with captions, not a stitchery book. But there are many pictures of embroidered costumes, which might give someone a reason to purchase this book.

The Dong nationality is a minority group in China, numbering over 1,430,000 in the southwest provinces of Guizhou, Guangxi and Hunan. Mrs. Rossi spent nine years in China, while her husband taught English to Chinese students in Beijing. She made 36 journeys to Guizhou Province, to document the wide variety of folk arts and related customs, as well as ancient techniques employed to create traditional costume.

During that time, in 1986 and 1987, she wrote two articles for COUNTED THREAD. The first "Traditional Cross Stitch Among China's Remote Southern Provinces" appeared in the June 1986 issue, while "Folk Design for China's Li Nationality" appeared in March 1988. Both articles contained ethnic charts.

Both of the Rossis are involved in organizing a special foundation aimed to both help preserve China's unique folk arts and to assist rural education among China's ethnic nationalities.

Postcards are written by Mary Kelly, Professor of Art, Tompkins Corland Community College, Dryden, New York. They will be continued in the September issue.

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Local artist Mary Kelly talks of her research in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. See page 3.

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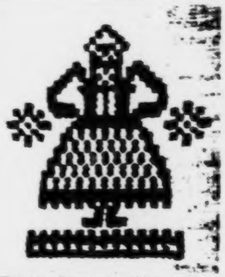

This is a Czechoslovakian goddess embroidery.

Goddess Images Intrigue Artist

By LAURA R. JONES

The walls of Communism have collapsed since Mary Kelly first traveled to the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia in 1982.

It's a change the local artist welcomes since it will enable her to research areas of Eastern Europe for folk art that she never thought possible nearly a decade ago.

Kelly, a fine arts professor at Tompkins Cortland Community College in Dryden, began researching folk art on a faculty exchange grant to Czechoslovakia in 1982.

Primarily a painter, Kelly is also a weaver, and was intrigued by images in Russian embroideries during her trip to research Eastern European folk art.

Although the images were woven into Russian embroideries, they were more than pictures, according to Kelly. The figures could be the remnants of an ancient religion that flourished long before Christianity, she said.

The Russians refer to the images in the form of figures as their "mother goddess," a female diety who offered protection and fertility and preserved the female lineage, said Kelly.

"The mother goddess ... talks about female lineage, the female idea that lineage comes down from the woman. That is what was documented on the cloth," said Kelly.

And it is the meaning behind the "mother goddess" that intrigued Kelly.

Variations of the image are found throughout Eastern Europe, mostly in the form of embroidery and sometimes in paper cuttings. It was how women preserved history, according to Kelly.

"They did it for a reason — not just to make pretty pictures," she remarked.

Kelly said "women were the lifegivers," documenting progress in their stitches as men did through their words. She noted the embroideries co-existed with Communism and Christianity.

Changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe had to come, said Kelly who decided to see for herself following Czechoslovakia's "Velvet Revolution" in November 1989.

Kelly, who just returned after a two-month visit to Czechoslovakia, reported that everything changed, especially the political structure.

"They were all new faces, not a faceless bureaucracy," she said.

In the country's small towns, she found a devotion among women for folk art. Even under Communism, where women were encouraged to work, they still found time to embroider even though it was discouraged by the government. Now after the fall of Communism, there is a resurgence of folk art activities, she said.

"Each village had a distinct folk costume although embroidering did not constitute as an ethnic identifier. Women did it anyways. Now instead of the fancy tractor, embroideries have the sign of town pride," said Kelly.

Meanwhile, as Kelly traces the mother goddess' origin, she captures it in her own paintings and weavings.

"I paint my own version of the images I had found in Russia."

Kelly has completed a series of paintings entitled "Goddess Chapel" which is comprised of seven large goddess figures derived from Russian embroidery.

Since her first trip to Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union in 1982, Kelly has obtained about 25 grants enabling her to travel there again as well as to the Ukraine, Romania, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia. She plans to go to Bulgaria in October.

After Bulgaria, Kelly wants to turn her attention toward the Ukraine, maybe visiting next August. She hopes to trace and document mother goddess figures from 19th century Ukrainian embroideries.

And it is in the Ukraine, considered the bread basket of the Soviet Union, where Kelly hopes to find the oldest mother goddess figures yet.

Somewhere in the Carpathian Mountains may be the oldest examples of these images, said Kelly who hopes the Ukrainian border will be open when she visits there next year.

"I'm dying to get in there," said Kelly. "It's real high and real inaccessible, but if there is any old stuff we'll find it and photograph it," said Kelly who hopes to be joined by two companions.

As for the future, Kelly maintains researching the mother goddess and woman's heritage will never stop.

"It's a topic whose time has come," said Kelly. It began as a "professional motivator ... and now it's taking over. It leads my life."

[illegible]/staff photos

Mary Kelly discusses the background of one of seven paintings from her "Goddess Chapel" series. Shown is Kelly's replicia of an ancient Russian mother goddess in which a daughter goddess can be seen within her skirt with smaller figures beneath representing the unborn generations. The image is adapted from Russian embroideries which preserve records of women's heritage and spirituality.

Truxton, chairman of the Budget and Finance Committee, asked all county departments to cut 5 percent from their budgets to compensate for diminishing state aid, Whiteman opted not to replace Tinker, Price said.

"We decided to hold the position open to save money," Price explained.

"But now we are in a position where it is becoming extra work for the officers," Price said, adding the department has had to tap into overtime pay to compensate for the vacant position.

As of mid-August, the department spent $34,244 in overtime, compared to $41,778 at the same time last year, with similar staff.

The department receives an average 20 complaints a day, not including traffic accidents, Price said.

A second road patrol vacancy will be created by a series of promotions within the department.

With the recent retirement of Lt. Robert Churchill, Whiteman has to fill the position with either a sergeant or investigator, action which will create a domino effect in other positions.

A sergeant, or road patrol officer who has passed the sergeant's test, will be promoted to either sergeant or investigator, Price said. Either way, a road patrol position will be left vacant.

If a sergeant is promoted, a patrol officer will then be promoted

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Man Sente To State P

A local man was sentenced Thursday in Cortland County Court to state prison for attempted criminal possession of a forged instrument.

Michael C. Freelove, 30, address unknown, was sentenced by Judge Charles Mullen to 1½ to 3 years in Elmira Correctional Facility.

Freelove pleaded guilty to attempted second-degree criminal possession of a forged instrument, a felony, in July 25.

Emergency Repairs Less

By CONNIE NOGAS

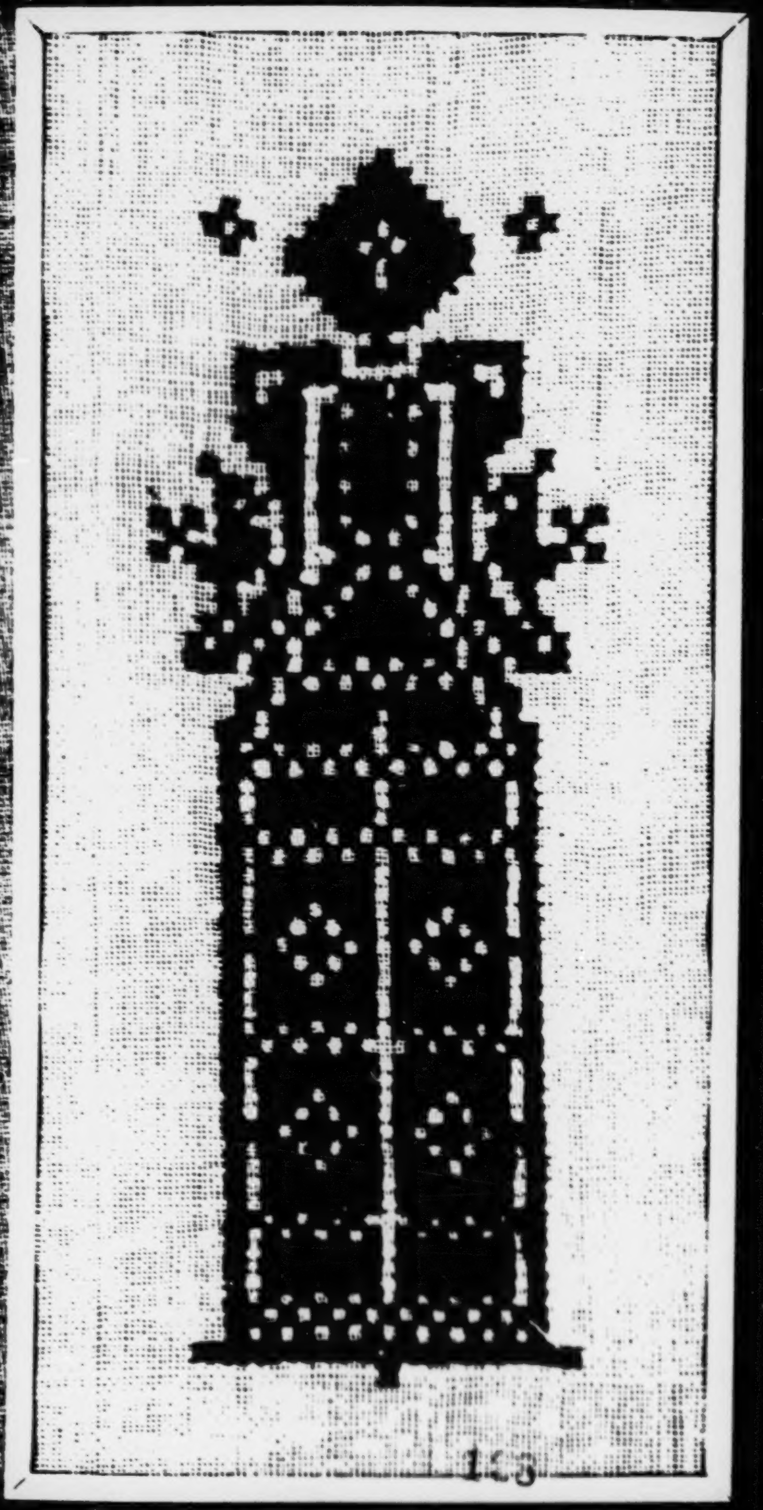
Repairing the county's emergency generator won't be nearly as expensive as previously thought, county legislators learned this week.

"It actually ended up being less of a nightmare than I thought it would," said county Emergency Management Director Brenda DeRusso.

When the generator malfunctioned in late July during a routine test run, the cost of repairing it was estimated to cost anywhere between $6,000 and $20,000.

But the generator, which supplies power to emergency services offices in case of a power failure, can be repaired for about $1,150 including parts and labor by a local diesel mechanic, said county Maintenance Department Supervisor Brian Parker.

Parts, which can't be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REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATION AND THE LEGACIES OF THE PAST: A SLIDE LECTURE ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN THE SUMMER OF 1991

KATHARINE KENNEDY

The following is a slide presentation that has evolved over the past two months as I have talked with disparate groups about my summer experiences in Czechoslovakia. I have given this presentation, in various forms, to a group of Atlanta senior citizens enrolled in a continuing education course on foreign affairs, to the history majors at my own institution, Agnes Scott College, and to middle and high school teachers participating in the National Faculty's World History Project in Grand Rapids, Michigan. In each case, my intention was to explore the extent, nature and consequences of the changes underway in Czechoslovakia. By way of introduction, I describe the Fulbright Seminar Abroad program and explain that many of my perceptions are based on meetings and conversations with groups and individuals including mayors and city councils, factory managers, journalists, farmers, curators at historic sites, members of parliament, university professors and administrators, environmentalists, church leaders, and health care workers.

SLIDE: MAP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Locate the two republics, and refer briefly to some economic and historical differences between them. Also, note the extent of our travels in both republics.

SLIDE: WENCESLAS SQUARE, FACING NATIONAL MUSEUM
Site of demonstrations of 200,000-300,000 people in Prague during last two weeks of November 1989. The heart of the Velvet Revolution.

SLIDE: MELANTRICH BUILDING ON WENCESLAS SQUARE
The balcony of this building is where Václav Havel and Alexander Dubček appeared to the crowd on 24 November 1989. The communist government resigned shortly thereafter.

To explore legacies of the past and changes since the Revolution of 1989, the following pictures illustrate several themes: truth telling and openness, democratization and political change, marketization and privatization, environmental and architectural legacies, and resurgent Slovak nationalism. The achievement of a new openness has, at this point, been more successfully and easily accomplished than the restructuring of the economy and of political and other institutions.

I. Truth Telling and Openness

SLIDE: SIGN ON THE WALL OF THE PRAZDROJ BREWERY, PLZEŇ, CONTAINING A PICTURE OF VÁCLAV HAVEL WITH THE CAPTION:

"TRUTH AND KINDNESS MUST OVERCOME LIES AND HATRED" AND A PHOTOGRAPH OF TOMÁŠ MASARYK
Havel has eloquently and repeatedly expressed a commitment to telling the truth after decades when people were not able to tell the truth in public, and when truth telling was largely confined to the private sphere. My impression this summer was that most people sought to tell the truth. This was in marked contrast to last visit to Czechoslovakia in 1977. Images of Masaryk, a founder of Czechoslovakia and interwar president, have become common in the Czech lands since the Revolution, and he is assuming an honored position in new history curricula and textbooks now being introduced. Some historians have dropped their own research to participate in this recreation of the past for school children.

Clearly, educational institutions are fundamental for changing the values and information transmitted and the methods for their transmission. Petr Pitha, after a career as a mathematical linguist, is now working at the Czech Ministry of Education on the development of a new civics curriculum. His expressed goal is to teach democratic values, and he anticipates changes in pedagogy both to encourage discussion and to teach pupils to deal with ambiguity. Since the revolution, most school directors at the secondary level, and some teachers, have lost their jobs, but one mother told me that she had noticed no real changes in her child's schooling. Communist orthodoxy had held sway in the pedagogical faculties, and a transformation of teacher training will not come easily.

SLIDE: UNIVERSITY DORMITORY
SLIDE: RECENT GRADUATE PAINTING NAME, DEGREE AND GRADUATION DATE ON THE SIDEWALK IN ŽILINA
Since the revolution, universities have eliminated programs in scientific atheism and Marxism-Leninism. New departments have been created in such areas as theology, market economics, and political science. Some faculty members who lost their jobs after the suppression of the Prague spring are again teaching. Communist university rectors have been replaced and some, but not all, of the communist faculty have been dismissed. A vice rector at the university in Brno suggested in this regard that the revolution had been too velvet. Universities are also suffering from inadequate funding and poor access to books and scholarly journals. A philosopher at the Charles University in Prague told us that his institute lacks even the resources to respond to the flood of letters coming in from the West.

New openness is also evident in the media and press. Old and new means of electronic communication are evident on the streets.

SLIDE: LOUDSPEAKER ON THE STREET IN ČESKÉ BUDĚJOVICE

Loudspeakers were formerly used by the government to broadcast information. While no longer in use, there are still found in towns and villages throughout the country.

SLIDE: RADIO IN A WORKERS' HOSTEL, PRAGUE
The older radios found in hotels and elsewhere are set permanently on one state station. Recently, nine new radio stations have been licensed in Prague.

SLIDE: SATELLITE DISH ON AN APARTMENT BALCONY
Since the revolution, small satellite dishes have become common. During certain hours of the day,they have access to one of Atlanta's best known exports, CNN.

In the 1970s, western newspapers were unavailable in Czechoslovakia. Now, one sees them on every street corner in central Prague. In Slovakia, this is not the case, due to lack of demand. A Slovak vice-prime minister complained that Slovak newspapers are difficult to find in Prague.

Today, newsstands sell and prominently display soft porn magazines, which were forbidden under the communists. Although the vice prime minister with responsibility for cultural matters told us that he had received several thousand letters complaining about pornography, a feminist working for human rights told us that, for her, the importance of freedom of the press outweighed the possible harm caused by these magazines.

SLIDE: BOOK VENDORS AND SHOPPERS IN ARCADE, ČESKÉ BUDĚJOVICE
Book sellers are numerous and well-patronized, although many shoppers are only looking because they cannot afford to buy. One popular book, readily available in Czech, is Orwell's 1984, a work that some had acquired illegally from abroad before the revolution, and which several people told me accurately described the communist system. Another book for sale in bookstores throughout the country is a biography of the actress Elizabeth "Taylorova."

SLIDE: JESUIT CHURCH ON THE MAIN SQUARE IN ŽILINA
The new openness is especially evident in the churches. In Slovakia, which is heavily Catholic and traditionally more religious than the Czech lands, churches were full, with worshipers standing in the aisles and in the doorways during mass. Such crowds were not evident in the Czech lands. The Catholic church has involved itself in politics, endorsing candidates and parties. Religious instruction in schools is expanding. Under the communists, the government provided the churches with very limited funds. Now, Bishop Lobkowicz in Prague supports an arrangement for church funding something like the Italian system, whereby everyone must pay a cultural tax but can designate whether it goes to a church or to another institution.

SLIDE: CARDINAL TOMAŠEK, PRAGUE
Mention of the Cardinal's role during and before the Revolution.

SLIDE: ARCHBISHOP JAN SOKOL, TRNAVA
Contrast the outspoken, folksy, jovial style of Archbishop Sokol in Trnava with the more sophisticated, cosmopolitan, and urbane Bishop Lobkowicz in Prague.

SLIDE: CHARLES BRIDGE IN PRAGUE, CROWDED WITH TOURISTS AND STREET VENDORS
The new openness includes new efforts to welcome tourists to Czechoslovakia and to encourage international contacts. Prague was swarming with western tourists this summer. Because of low prices, the city was a gathering place for international youth. The infrastructure for tourism, however, needs expansion and improvement. In Prague, it is difficult to find a place to eat dinner without a reservation, because there are too few restaurants and most have only one sitting per table per evening. As of yet, Prague, thankfully, has no western fast-food restaurants. Another Atlanta product, coca cola, is available but not ubiquitous. Few businesses accept credit cards.

SLIDE: TOURISTS IN PRAGUE'S OLD TOWN SQUARE WITH COCA-COLA UMBRELLA

In the rest of the country, many local officials hope that tourism will bring economic salvation. The sights are worthy.

SLIDE: ROCK FORMATIONS, THE VRÁTNA VALLEY
SLIDE: SPIŠSKÝ HRAD - CASTLE RUIN
SLIDE: BARDEJOV, MAIN SQUARE WITH OLD TOWN HALL AND CHURCH
Some of the picturesque towns hoping to attract tourists have no acceptable hotels or restaurants.

SLIDE: STUDENT WAITRESSES, HOTEL SCHOOL, KEŽMAROK
This hotel school in Slovakia trains people to work in the hospitality industry. Graduates must pass exams in three languages: English, German, and Russian.

SLIDE: I HEART PUNK GRAFFITI IN ENGLISH, ŽILINA
The communists discouraged instruction in English, but now it is a growth industry -- in schools, universities and private language schools. English is perceived as the international language, although 80% of the foreign investment in Czechoslovakia is from neighboring Germany. English is replacing Russian as the first language taught in schools, and some Russian teachers are being retrained to teach English.

Although prospects for international travel for Czechs and Slovaks are poor due to the economic crunch, there is desire at universities for student and faculty exchange programs and among the general public, for vacation travel. Several people cited the right to travel as the biggest change to accompany the revolution.

SLIDE: JOANNA BALCAR, SIXTEEN-YEAR-OLD HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT WITH MODERN SCULPTURE IN VOJANOVY SADY, PRAGUE
When asked what important changes she had observed since the Revolution, Joanna responded that it had liberated and invigorated the press and cultural life.

II. Democratization and Political Restructuring

Most of the elected and appointed officials that we met in government at the local, republic, or federal level were political novices who had been in their jobs for less than two years. One mayor was a chemist and another was formerly an engineer. Vice Prime Minister Mikloško had had a long career as a computer scientist before becoming involved in politics. The Chairman of the Federal Committee for the Environment had been an environmental activist.

SLIDE: TWO MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL PARLIAMENT, DR. MAHULENA ČEJKOVÁ AND ARCHITECT STANISLAV ŽALUD, BOTH ELECTED AS CIVIC FORUM CANDIDATES
Dr. Čejková was a physician who had had no political involvement before the revolution. She agreed to run in her hometown of Decin because people in her community asked her to, and she believes she won because people trusted her. She has enjoyed her stint in politics because she has met interesting people, but she does not know if she will run again because of the inconvenience of being separated from her husband. The amateur politicians of Czechoslovakia have an authenticity that is appealing to a visitor from a country where politicians are usually packaged for public consumption. The party structure in the Czech lands and in Slovakia remains fluid. One mayor indicated that around sixty "parties" exist. The list of parties represented differed for each city council that we met, and most voters do not seem to have strong party identification.

SLIDE: MAYOR AND CITY COUNCIL MEMBERS IN BANSKÁ ŠTIAVNICA
The largest political party in this old Slovak mining town is the Party of the Democratic Left, a segment of the former Communist Party. The town has a strong socialist tradition and high unemployment. There are between two and 2 1/2 million former communists in Czechoslovakia.

SLIDE: HAMMER AND SICKLE MONUMENT, PREŠOV
Most names and symbols from the communist era disappeared soon after the revolution. In most towns, street names have

changed but new city maps have not yet appeared. In Prague the maps are current. The former Gottwald Street along the river is now Masaryk Street. Gone are the red signs with their communist slogans. Monuments with the hammer and sickle, like this one, which commemorates the Red Army's liberation of Slovakia, are rare.

SLIDE: STATUE OF SEATED KARL MARX, KARLOVY VARY
This statue honors Marx in the spa that he visited several times.

SLIDE: GAGARIN STATUE AND DIENTZENHOFER'S CHURCH OF MARY MAGDALENE, KARLOVY VARY
One colonnade at Carlsbad is named for the cosmonaut who visited during the 1960s. The interior of the baroque church behind it is undergoing restoration.

III. Restructuring the Economy: Marketization and Privatization

Movement toward a market economy and privatization of businesses are causing considerable hardship and uncertainty. During the past year, prices have risen sharply. A monthly pass on the Prague subway went up from 80 crowns ($2.70) to 120 crowns ($4.00). Wages have increased little, with the average hovering around 3500 crowns a month ($116). Food and other consumer goods appear plentiful, but the prices, especially for imported products, are often prohibitively high for Czechoslovak citizens. People find their expendable income reduced and, often confronted with the prospect of unemployment for the first time, face a future of economic uncertainty.

SLIDE: VEGETABLE MARKET, PRAGUE
SLIDE: VEGETABLE VENDOR, TRENCIN
Tomatoes, cucumbers, cauliflower, peppers, and other vegetables were plentiful.

SLIDE: BUTCHER SHOP, TRENČÍN
Lines of shoppers were usually short or nonexistent. Where there were lines, the cause was usually cumbersome sales procedures.

SLIDE: BREAKFAST PLATE IN STARÁ LESNÁ, WITH SALAMI, PATÉ, EGG, CHEESE, AND TOMATO.
For western visitors, prices in resort areas like the High Tatras remain low, but the inability of domestic tourists and of other East Europeans and Soviets to afford vacations this summer left rooms in resorts standing empty in July.

SLIDE: MANNEQUINS IN CLOTHING STORE IN MARTIN
Virtually all large businesses and most small businesses are still state owned. The blue dress on the mannequin with the painted red shoes costs 842 crowns ($28).

SLIDE: APPLIANCE SHOP WINDOW IN MARTIN

A range of small appliances, some of them German brands, are available at this store, but the microwave oven, at 9900 crowns, costs around three months wages. The electric iron costs 500 crowns and the food processor costs 2660 ($87).

SLIDE: CHRISTIAN DIOR, PAŘÍŽSKÁ, PRAGUE
Western products are appearing in greater numbers.

SLIDE: BARBIE DISPLAY IN WINDOW OF KOTVA DEPARTMENT STORE, PRAGUE
This needs no comment.

SLIDE: LINGERIE BILLBOARD, PRAGUE
Western advertising methods are arriving. In Bratislava, there were billboards with the message, in English, "I am a billboard. I sell your products."

SLIDE: STREET VENDORS SELLING RED ARMY MEMORABILIA, PRAGUE
The last Russian soldiers left Czechoslovakia in June 1991.

SLIDE: WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN LOCAL COSTUMES, HEĽPA
The entrepreneurial spirit and the need for money have reached this village, where women are willing to sell the costumes that they have made and are wearing.

SLIDE: ARNOŠT BALCAR IN HIS APARTMENT, PRAGUE
Arnošt Balcar left his former job to begin his own management consulting firm in his apartment. He borrowed 40,000 crowns, the equivalent to around one year's salary, to buy a laptop computer and to travel to make business contacts in Switzerland. He is optimistic about his prospects. Small, private travel agencies have proliferated, often established by former employees of the state travel bureau Čedok. One such private travel agency in Prague has adopted the English name, Golden City Tours. The founders of these small businesses often seem unaware of the perils of capitalism.

SLIDE: PRIVATE CHINESE RESTAURANT, TRNAVA, EXTERIOR
The so-called small privatization began in 1991, permitting private investors to buy shops, restaurants, etc. This new restaurant is one such private business.

SLIDE: PRIVATE CHINESE RESTAURANT, TRNAVA, INTERIOR

SLIDE: PRIVATE RESTAURANT IN PRAGUE -- ENTERTAINMENT -- THE CHEF WITH THE MUSICAL HAM

SLIDE: PRIVATE CLOTHING STORE, TELČ
Further examples of newly opened private businesses. In many areas, the small privatization has progressed more slowly than expected.

Large privatization will begin in 1992, and will include a voucher system, whereby every citizen will have the opportunity to buy a voucher for 1000 crowns (ca. $30) and to choose from a range of investment options. The intention is to raise some capital domestically for privatizing large businesses and to give citizens a stake in the system. Eventually a stock market will develop, according to Vice Finance Minister Jaroslav Jurečka. Large businesses are being prepared for privatization, meaning that production is to become more efficient and facilities more effective. Vice Minister Jurečka expects to privatize around 40% of these companies in 1992.

SLIDE: ASSEMBLY LINE, ŠKODA FACTORY, MLADÁ BOLESLAV
This factory employs 16,000 and is the largest robotized workplace in the country. One thousand of the workers are Vietnamese and 1000 are Poles. These foreigners are especially vulnerable to layoffs. One third of the employees are women. The average wage of 4400 crowns ($150 a month), is among the highest in the country. Volkswagen currently owns 30% of the company, but its share will increase to 70% by the turn of the century. Three Germans and two Czechs sit on the Board of Directors and some 100 German specialists are training Czech workers. Volkswagen did not want to operate the factory's large network of facilities for workers, ranging from child care to sport facilities to apartments. These have been turned over to the city or privatized.

SLIDE: ŠKODA ASSEMBLY LINE, MLADÁ BOLESLAV

SLIDE: LINEN FACTORY, KEŽMAROK, LOOM
The prospects for this linen factory are even less rosy. Its workforce has decreased from 2050 to 1500 and the management anticipates further layoffs, claiming that the factory is still overstaffed. Expectations are that much of Slovakia's textile production for 1991 cannot be sold due to weakened domestic buying power and the loss of markets in the Soviet Union and elsewhere in eastern Europe.

SLIDE: LINEN FACTORY, KEŽMAROK, SEWING

SLIDE: DUBNIČA, A NEW CITY IN SLOVAKIA WITH A LARGE TANK FACTORY
Some 70,000 Slovaks are employed in the arms industry, and controversy surrounds the fate of tank and other military factories. Converting them to peaceful production is neither quick nor inexpensive. The crisis in the Soviet Union has reduced or eliminated markets on which Czechs and Slovaks depended heavily for selling not only weapons but many other products as well.

SLIDE: COWS AT COOPERATIVE FARM NEAR PŘEROV NAD LABEM

The cooperative farm is owned collectively by its roughly seven hundred members. Complex procedures whereby property owners from the pre-communist era can reclaim land are in effect, and the cooperative farm will have to begin paying rent for the use of some of its land when this reclamation takes place. The loss of the Soviet market has also been a serious blow for this farm, and the prices that the state pays the cooperative for food have increased only slightly. The farm's director anticipated being unable to sell around one third of the farm's produce this year.

SLIDE: MONASTIC CHURCH, TEPLÁ
The Catholic church has also recovered territory, including monasteries and convents closed by the communists in the early 1950s. At this Premonstrate monastery, where the monks were arrested in 1950 and the buildings were subsequently used by the army, baroque painting and stucco are peeling, roofs leak, and windows are broken. Nonetheless, the monks are planning to return to their building next year.

SLIDE: TEPLÁ MONASTERY, CHAPTER HALL

SLIDE: TEPLÁ MONASTERY, MONK'S CELL

IV. Environmental and Architectural Legacies of the Communist Era

Ruined monasteries are only some of the physical reminders of the recent past. The housing constructed during the communist era consisted mostly of pre-fab high-rise apartment buildings.

SLIDE: PETRŽALKA HOUSING PROJECT, BRATISLAVA
Petržalka houses 150,000 people but lacks adequate shopping, parks and other services. Residents with whom I spoke longed for an alternative.

Some buildings constructed by Communists are being converted to other uses.

SLIDE: ROOM IN FORMER COMMUNIST PARTY SCHOOL, BANSKÁ BYSTRICA
The Fulbright seminar spent several nights in this former Party School. A vegetarian restaurant has opened in the former Party School in Bratislava.

SLIDE: OPEN PIT MINE AT MOST. VIEW FROM CASTLE
Damage to the environment has been assessed since the Revolution. In northern Bohemia there is extensive open pit mining of brown coal, much of which was burned in nearby plants to generate electricity and provide heat. The effects are evident in the unnatural, almost lunar landscape of the mines and the stunted trees. In the winter, children often wear masks outdoors because of poor air quality.

SLIDE: SOFT-COAL POWERED GENERATING PLANT NEAR TEPLICE

SLIDE: INTERIOR OF SIXTEENTH-CENTURY CHURCH IN MOST, MOVED WHEN THE TOWN WAS DESTROYED.
In the 1970s, the town of Most, which had been home to some 25,000 people, was bulldozed in order to extend the mine. Residents were moved to a newly constructed town nearby. In addition, a lovely gothic church was actually moved 750 meters to avoid the fate of the rest of the town. Information is now available documenting health problems of Czechs and Slovaks, especially those living in heavily damaged regions. Nationally, life expectancy has failed to rise in recent decades, in contrast with neighboring countries. Able and committed members of the government are attacking these problems, but solutions are remote.

V. Slovak Nationalism

With the challenges of creating a new set of laws and a new economic system and of addressing intractable environmental problems, the federal government in Prague has its plate more than full. Nonetheless, in recent months the focus has been elsewhere, on the future of relations between the Czech and Slovak Republics. To the surprise of some sociologists, the Revolution unleashed Slovak nationalism, and in doing so threatened the very existence of the Federal Republic. For centuries under the control of the Hungarians, the Slovaks, who comprise around one third of the population of Czechoslovakia, joined with the Bohemians and Moravians to the west in 1918. The Slovak Language, first written down and officially recognized in the mid-nineteenth century, is similar to but different from that of the Czechs. Slovakia has been poorer, more religious, and more agricultural than the Czech lands. The movement for Slovak separatism derives from a sense of always having been another people's younger sibling, and from an acute sense of not receiving their share of the investment, cultural benefits, and status dispensed from Prague.

SLIDE: SLOVAK NATIONALIST CITY COUNCILMAN ADAMEK, ŽILINA
On the wall behind him is a copy of the Pittsburgh Declaration of 1918. Adamek sees the Slovakia that emerged from the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia in 1938-39 as a fulfillment of the promises made to the Slovaks in 1918.

SLIDE: EXHIBITION HONORING ANDREJ HLINKA IN ŽILINA
Hlinka was a Slovak nationalist and leader of the Slovak People's Party. He died in 1938, but the fascist Hlinka Guard took his name.

SLIDE: SLOVAK COAT OF ARMS, WITHOUT A PICTURE OF PRESIDENT HAVEL, IN THE ŽILINA CITY COUNCIL CHAMBERS

SLIDE: SLOVAK AND FEDERAL FLAGS HANGING SIDE BY SIDE IN DEDINKY, SLOVAKIA
Czechoslovakia adopted the Czech flag as the federal flag, to the dismay of some Slovaks.

SLIDE: PHOTOGRAPH OF PRESIDENT HAVEL AND SLOVAK COAT OF ARMS HANGING TOGETHER AT MATICE SLOVENSKÁ, A SLOVAK CULTURAL AGENCY, MARTIN
We heard from several sources about a poll conducted in the spring of 1991 which indicated that 13% of Slovaks wanted complete independence. Larger groups of Slovaks favored either a confederation or a significant renegotiation of the federation. The idea that constitutions of the two republics should precede those of the national government was popular in Slovakia. Press reports indicate that, with the worsening economic situation in Slovakia, support for Slovak independence is now far greater than 13% and is growing. Slovak nationalists say that they envision the admission of Slovakia to the EEC and UN as an independent country. Slovak nationalism reflects both long-standing grievances and, I think, an unrealistic view of economic and international relations, resulting in part from years of isolation.

The civil war in Yugoslavia, still in its early phase in July 1991, had made an impression on Czechs and Slovaks, who seemed convinced that a violent solution to the nationality problem was out of the question in their country. The ethnic, historical, and economic relations are, indeed, very different from those of the South Slavs. Recently, President Havel, who seeks to hold a referendum on the future of the federation, has said that if, after all efforts at reconciliation, "life together in one state is not possible," he favors a constitutional separation.

The people of the Czech and Slovak Republics seek to reclaim their country, its institutions, its history and culture, while attempting to cope with economic vulnerability and uncertainty. The outcomes are far from certain.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN TRANSITION

BY

Ronald C. Monticone

CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN TRANSITION

Background Material

Czechoslovakia was created in 1919. It included the Bohemian and Moravian lands which had formerly been in the western half of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Slovak and Ruthenian lands formerly in the Hungarian half of the Empire. The two principal nationalities the Czechs and the Slovaks are very similar in language, customs and traditions. There was a large German minority in the very western part of the country in the Sudetenland which totaled about three million out of fourteen million people; there were about 750,000 Magyars in the south and 570,000 Ukrainians in the east. Two-thirds of the population was Czech and Slovak.

The real founder of the Czechoslovak Republic was Thomas Masaryk, a man imbued with the ideas of western democracy. Czechoslovakia became a unitary state not a federation in spite of the different nationalities within the country. The Slovaks were somewhat less than satisfied in this new state since they never received a separate administrative system, separate parliament and separate court system which they had been promised in June, 1918 at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania when Masaryk met with Americans of Czech and Slovak origin. In spite of their reasons for dis-satisfaction, the Slovaks for the first time enjoyed full freedom of national development.

Far more industrialized than any other country in East-Central Europe, Czechoslovakia had a sound economy and there was an even balance between industry in the west and agriculture in the east.[2]

The Czechoslovak Constitution of 1920 was influenced by Masaryk's devotion to the American ideals of democracy, but in structure the government came closer to the French model. The president was elected by both houses of parliament for seven years and could be re-elected only once. An exception was made for Masaryk who served as president until his resignation in 1935. His good friend Edward Benes was foreign minister throughout that period of seventeen years and president between 1935-1938. There were several prime ministers depending on which party was in control of parliament. Czechoslovakia which used the proportional system of representation became a multi-party democracy as do all countries that use this system of voting. There was of course universal suffrage and free elections. The communists were stronger in Czechoslovakia than in any other country in Eastern Europe but starting in 1935, the Nazis in the extreme west (Sudetenland) were a bigger menace.

Czechoslovakia was the most stable country in East-Central Europe between the wars and the only one that remained a democracy throughout the entire twenty year period. It is one of the ironies of history that Czechoslovakia became the first victim of Adolf Hitler. There was a large German minority which constituted 25% of the population. They lived in the Sudetenland and bordered on Germany. Hitler demanded that the Sudetenland become part of the Third Reich in the summer, 1938. Czechoslovakia had a defensive alliance with France since 1922 and with the Soviet Union since 1935. But the alliance with the Soviet Union stipulated that if either was attacked, the other would only be obliged to come to the aid of the victim if France fulfilled her obligation to the victim first.

In September, 1938, Hitler and Mussolini met with Prime Ministers Chamberlain and Daladier of Britain and France in Munich to discuss the crisis in the Sudetenland. France would not defend the Czechs against Germany if Britain would not fight as well. Chamberlain refused to fight to prevent "three million Germans from becoming part of Germany." France reneged on her 1922 alliance with Czechoslovakia. The Soviet treaty with the Czechoslovaks was contingent on France's fulfilling her obligation first. Czechoslovakia was forced to cede the Sudetenland to Hitler for it would have been futile to fight Hitler alone. Benes resigned as president and the new president of Czechoslovakia Emil Hacha reoriented the foreign policy of his country toward closer cooperation with Germany. Within six months of the Munich Conference Hitler violated his pledge to Chamberlain and Daladier and demanded all of Bohemia and Moravia. President Hacha was forced to sign the document ceding these lands to Germany while Hungary was awarded the Magyar portions of Czechoslovakia plus the eastern part of the country as well (Ruthenia). All that was left of Czechoslovakia by Spring, 1939 was Slovakia which became a fascist state allied with Hitler and Mussolini during the war.

As the Soviets pushed west toward the end of the war, Czechoslovakia was liberated mainly by Soviet armies except for the very western part of the country which was liberated by American and British troops. The Czechoslovak government-in-exile headed by President Benes had enjoyed good relations with Moscow after 1941 and concluded a military agreement concerning the administration of territories occupied by the Red army. The Czechoslovak government-in-exile also reached a political accord with Czech and Slovak communists in Moscow providing for substantial communist representation in the united front government which would be set up after the war. After all of the other states of East-Central Europe had experienced a communist take over by the end of 1947, Czechoslovakia remained under a coalition government. Those who hoped that Czechoslovakia with her uninterrupted democratic tradition and her consistently pro-Russian policy between the wars would remain comparatively free were disillusioned when on February 25, 1948 a communist coup enslaved that country as well. President Benes who had returned to Czechoslovakia after World War II to become president again was forced to resign and was replaced as president by Klement Gottwald, a communist. Jan Masaryk, son of the founder of Czechoslovakia who held the post of foreign minister down to the end was either killed or committed suicide.

However, it was Slansky who as Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia held the power between 1945-1951. Then came the Stalinist purges in Eastern Europe in the early 1950s, purges reminiscent of those in the USSR in the late 1930s. Slansky and his closest cohorts were arrested and imprisoned on grounds of national deviationism and were hanged. Antonin Novotny became Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. While he remained in power Czechoslovakia remained a model satellite state. The uprising in East Germany in 1953 and the rumblings in Poland and in Hungary in 1956 did not dent Czechoslovakia. It was amazing that Novotny survived the anti-Satlinist campaign that followed the 20th Communist Party Congress in Moscow in 1956 and he continued in office. While there was a trend toward liberalization in the Soviet Union and the communist states of East-Central Europe, there was none in Czechoslovakia. Hungary underwent a revolution in 1956 which was crushed by Soviet tanks and followed by a period of repression. But by 1965, a rapid process of liberalization was occurring in Hungary which was about to introduce the New Economic Mechanism (NEM). Throughout this entire period Czechoslovakia under the leadership of Novotny remained the tightest country in the Soviet bloc.

Then, in 1967, rumblings of discontent could be heard throughout the country and in January, 1968, Alexander Dubcek succeeded Novotny as party leader. Since Dubcek was a Slovak and the prime minister Joseph Lenart was Slovak as well, the latter was replaced by O. Cernik, a Czech. This killed two birds with one stone. The people got rid of Lenart, a hated Stalinist like Novotny and they now had a Czech prime minister as well.[3] It was customary that the party leader and the prime minister not be of the same nationality.

The period between January-August, 1968 was known as the Prague Spring. It was a rebirth of democracy in a country which had known democracy before. Even though this movement was led by the Slovak born Soviet trained communist Alexander Dubcek, the true force of Czechoslovakia's democratic resurrection was the Czech spirit of democracy.[7]

The Dubcek era began as a reform movement within the communist party. He was an ardent communist who only wanted to carry out popular reforms so that the party would be loved and respected. But with the removal of Stalinist controls, the democratic spirit burst into the open turning a reform movement into a revolution. There was virtually total freedom of expression. "Socialism with a human face" disassociated itself from the inhumanities of the Stalinist period and the aim was to achieve a "Czechoslovak road to socialism," a "new model of socialist democracy." This new model was described in detail in the Action Program of April 5, 1968. Those who headed this movement were the forerunners of the Eurocommunists of Western Europe of the 1970s.

The USSR did not take any great risk in intervening. Hungary stood out as the example and the west acknowledged that Czechoslovakia was in the Soviet sphere of influence. The Czechs and the Slovaks unlike the Hungarians of 1956 were not prepared to fight. Dubcek kept reassuring the Soviets of his loyalty. The Soviets were afraid that the diffusion of power in Czechoslovakia had entered the political sectorsince the Action Program of April 5, 1968 called upon the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia to share power with other political parties; so they intervened on August 21, 1968. However, they found no Kadar among the Czech and Slovak communists nor was there a repetition of President Hacha's surrender to Hitler. President Ludwik Svoboda humiliated the victorious Russians by refusing to appoint a government of traitors and the revolutionary leadership which had been arrested and deported to Moscow had to be released and sent back to Prague. It took the Soviets eight months to ease Dubcek out and replace him with Gustav Husak.

In October, 1968, fifty years after the proclamation of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, a new federal constitution went into effect. The Slovaks cheered both at home and abroad but there was no chance to revive democracy. The Slovaks could console themselves in that they had finally won the status of national equality with the Czechs. The Czechs had only their defeat to mourn. As for the Magyars in Czechoslovakia, they now found themselves in the Slovak half of the federation with "a triumphant Slovak nationalism untempered by democratic tolerance."[5] The Czechs began to feel sympathy for the Magyars thereby ending centuries of hostility between the Czechs and the Magyars.

The Soviets dragged their major allies into this invasion. The East German leadership still very Stalinist was most eager to intervene. The frightened conservative leaderships of Poland and Bulgaria were also willing to stop the liberal Czechoslovak movement which they believed could spill over into their countries. The Hungarian communists were less willing to intervene but went along more out of fear than out of conviction. They were busy implementing their New Economic Mechanism (NEM) which was in many ways similar to the economic plans of the reform minded Czechoslovak communists.

The Soviets announced what the west called the "Brezhnev Doctrine," which emphasized the right of communist states to intervene into the internal affairs of another communist state if the power of the party is about to slip. Those communists who were already at odds with the Soviet Union had their suspicions confirmed once again. Romania and Yugoslavia condemned the invasion as a threat to the sovereignty of a communist state. There was one more irony. The Czechs had always been pro-Russian and later between the two world wars pro-Soviet. Even after the communist takeover of Czechoslovakia, the Czechs continued to have affection for if not admiration for the Russians. The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia added one more nation to the ranks of the foes of Russia.

As for Czechoslovakia under the leadership of Gustav Husak, he unfortunately did not turn out to be another Janos Kadar who was pro-Soviet at first after 1956 and then began introducing far reaching reforms. Husak remained a faithful servant of Moscow and his ideas were not innovative in any way during his twenty-one year reign.

Gustav Husak remained much more of an Orthodox Marxist-Leninist than the other leaders of East-Central Europe with the possible except of Erich Honecker of the German Democratic Republic. He had little enthusiasm for Gorbachev's reforms and between 1985-1989 many of Gorbachev's speeches were edited and parts of his speeches deleted by the communist authorities of Czechoslovakia.

The Revolution of 1989

The transition from communism to democracy had been in the making in Hungary and in Poland for quite some time. In Hungary the transition was gradual and in Poland it was continual. In Czechoslovakia, however, there was no evolution from communism to democracy. The collapse of communism came immediately and was followed by a euphoria which soon disappeared. The transition has not been easy.

The catalyst which caused the collapse of communism throughout East-Central Europe was the removal of the barbed wire along the border of Hungary and Austria in the summer, 1989. The Hungarian regime had allowed its citizens to travel freely since the early 1980s. The barbed wire remained solely to prevent tourists from other Soviet bloc countries who were visiting Hungary from escaping to the west. By the summer, 1989, the communist government of Hungary agreed to multi-party free elections. The barbed wire had become an anachronism. Its removal resulted in a flood of refugees especially from East Germany. On November 9, 1989 the Berlin Wall came down and the following week 5,000,000 East Germans visited West Germany.[6]

For most of 1989, police repression in Czechoslovakia prevented open opposition but the largest demonstrations in twenty years erupted throughout the entire country after the police brutally suppressed a student demonstration on November 17. Before the end of 1989 all political prisoners received an amnesty, the Czech media was revamped and objectively reported the news, a number of political parties sprang forth and an independent trade union replaced official trade unions which began to disintegrate.

An organization known as Civic Forum, an alliance of dissidents and official organizations came forward after November 17, 1989. The opening of negotiations with the opposition and the breakdown in censorship represented a reversal of a policy formulated earlier in the year. There had been an ideological hardening in early 1989 and in February, a wave of political trials began. Czechoslovakia consistently criticized political developments in Hungary and Poland whose two governments repudiated their countries' participation in the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. In November, 1989, the Czechoslovak regime began to criticize some of the changes that were occurring in the German Democratic Republic and had long since begun to criticize some of Gorbachev's reforms in the Soviet Union.[7]

Morale within the Czechoslovak Communist Party remained low, however, and many rank-in-file members began to lose confidence in the ability of the party to solve the country's problems. Many gave up membership in the Party in 1989 as opposition to the regime grew significantly.

In May, 1989, the Socialist Party which was in coalition with the Communist Party demanded more independence for non-communist parties while within the People's Party, which was also in coalition with the communists, there was an open revolt against the party leadership in the second half of 1989. The leaders of the party were accused of betraying the Christian character of the party and on November 26, 1989, these leaders resigned and were replaced by new leaders who refused to toe the Communist Party line. Leaders of the Socialist and People's Parties were present at the founding meeting of Civic Forum on November 18, 1989.

Three opposition groups became influencial: Obroda, a club of socialist restructuring, the Movement for Civil Liberties and the Czechslovak Democratic Initiative which already in November became an independent political party. Also in November, an umbrella group known as Civic Forum was established and it demanded political change. Civic Forum soon established branches throughout Bohemia and Moravia while in Slovakia, a similar group called Public Against Violence was established.[8]

The Czechoslovak people demanded that the communist leadership resign. The leader of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Milos Jakes who had just assumed the post the previous year resigned along with all members of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the Party on November 24. Jakes was soon expelled from the Party altogether. Karel Urbanek, leader of the Communist Party of the Czech Republic know assumed the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia as new Secretary-General.

The Central Committee held an emergency meeting and all members of the CC who had been associated with Stalinist policies were forced to resign. Then between December 21-22, an emergency Communist Party Congress met and replaced Urbanek with former Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec.

On November 29, the Federal Assembly abolished the constitutional principle of the leading role of the Communist Party in society. Government officials were meeting with representatives of the opposition while a general strike was taking place and on November 27, the government accepted all of the demands of the opposition. A new coalition government was named on December 3. Ladislav Adamec, a communist became prime minister and the communists still dominated the coalition. Within ten days (Dec. 10) this coalition government was reshuffled and Adamec resigned as prime minister of a coalition government in which the communists were no longer a majority. New governments in the Czech and Slovak Republics were established in early December and in both the communists were a minority. The new coalition government agreed to hold free elections in June, 1990. Communism had come to an end after forty-one years.

President Husak resigned on December 10 and the playwrite and leading dissident Vaclav Havel became the new president. Alexander Dubcek became the new Chairman of the Federal Assembly.

The following page shows the results of the elections of June, 1990 for the federal parliament, the Czech National Council which is the Czech parliament and the Slovak National Council which is the Slovak parliament.

	Snem Lidu		Snem. Nàr.			
	CR	SR	CR	SR	CHR	SHR
L. Peace Party	—	1.44	—	1.24	—	1.77
2. Democratic Party	—	4.40	—	3.68	—	4.39
3. Czech. Socialist Party	2.75	.06	2.89	.06	2.68	.03
4. Movement for Civic Freedom	.03	.02	.29	.03	-	-
5. Public Against Violence	-	32.54	-	37.28	-	29.34
6. Free Block	.80	.18	1.09	.17	1.04	.09
7/ Civic Forum	53.15	-	49.96	-	49.50	-
8. Coalition of Republican Party	.94	.25	1.00	.21	1.00	.28
9. Coalition of Interest Groups	.66	-	.76	-	.84	-
10 Communist Party	13.48	13.81	13.80	13.43	13.24	13.34
11. Coalition of Agricultural Workers in Countryside	3.77	2.58	3.99	2.10	4.11	2.51
12. Coalition of Groups Representing Ethnic Minorities	.08	8.58	-	8.49	-	8.66
13. Czechoslovak Democratic Forum	.32	.02	.44	.01	.33	.01
14. Romovia(Gypsy Party)	-	.67	-	.60	-	.73
15. Organization of Independent Romanisna	-	-	-	-	-	-
16. Slovak National Party	-	10.96	-	11.94	-	13.94
17. Christian Democratic Movement	-	18.98	-	16.66	-	19.20
18. Green Party	3.10	3.20	3.44	2.58	4.10	3.48
19. Movement of Czechoslovak Understanding						
20. Movement for Independence of Moravia and Silesia	7.89	-	9.10	-	10.03	-
21. Social Democrats	3.84	1.89	4.17	1.51	4.11	1.81
22. Party of Beer Lovers	.12	-	.19	-	.61	-
23. Christian Democratic Union	8.69	-	8.75	-	8.42	-

Snem Lidu and Snem Nar. are the two chambers of the Federal Parliament. The Snem Lidu is the House of the People and Snem. Nar. the House of Nations.

CR = % of votes in Czech parts of the Chambers
SR = % of votes in Slovak parts of the Chambers

CNR = Czech National Council or Czech Parliament
SNR = Slovak National Council or Slovak Parliament

Since 1990, Czechoslovakia has been a security vacuum.[9] The military portion of the Warsaw Pact was dissolved in the Spring, 1991 and the political organization in June, 1991. All Soviet troops left Czechoslovakia before July 1, 1991 and COMECON (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) the Soviet counterpart of the Common Market has come to an end as well.

Political Parties Today

Whereas there were no political parties other than the Communist Party and the Socialist and People's Parties which were really communist front parties since their policies were controlled by the Communist Party, there are now eighty-six parties in Slovakia and forty-nine in Bohemia and Moravia.[10] To say that Czechoslovakia is an example of a multi-party system is an understatement. Fortunately, parties that do not poll 5% of the vote nationwide may not sit in parliament. However, proportional representation for electing candidates to the federal parliament should be abolished and a winner-take-all system of electing candidates introduced. This would vastly curtail the number of political parties in Czechoslovakia and force parties which aspire similar viewpoints on socio-economic and political issues to amalgamate.

Slovakia

Today in Slovakia, the most important parties are Public Against Violence, the Christian Democratic Party and the Slovak National Party. Public Against Violence, the counterpart of Civic Forum went into coalition with the Christian Democratic Movement and the Democratic Party. Together these three parties represent the ruling group in the Slovak National Council.[11] The opposition consists of the Slovak National Party, the Party of the Democratic Left and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia.[12]

Public Against Violence (VPN) has drawn up a program emphasizing medical care, environmental issues, a policy toward suburbs and democracy in civic life. The program also stresses democratization of parliamentary life and a shifting to private industry. As far as Czechoslovakia is concerned VPN stands for federation between two equal sovereign states.[13]

The Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) which is in coalition with the VPN emphasizes Christian national principles and social justice.[14] The position of KDH on the Czechoslovak Federation is similar to that of VPN but perhaps with a little more autonomy for Bohemia, Moravia. and Slovakia. The KDH would give the federal government slightly less power than would the VPN.

The Democratic Party (DS) also in coalition with the VPN and KDH favors introducing democracy in community life. It is a liberal democratic movement but nevertheless stresses privatization and government support for business. It is small in terms of members but feels that more important than numbers is the intellectual orientation.[15] Ideologically speaking, the Democratic Party is a middle of the road party. It favors the Czechoslovak federation and sovereignty for the Czech and Slovak states.

The Slovak National Party is one of the oldest parties, established in 1861 to protect Matice Slovenska (Mother Slovakia). It has a national agenda which emphasizes Christian values. It builds on traditions and its program is both social and cultural.[16] The Slovak National Party (SNS) favors an independent Slovak state. In the elections for the Slovak National Parliament this party came in third, behind the VPN and KDH.

In coalition with the SNS is the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia which split with Public Against Violence. It favors speeding up economic reforms and espouses the cause of the socially weakest part of the population.[17] As far as Czechoslovakia the MDS favors a confederation. Both the Czech and the Slovak Republics should be sovereign with separate ministries for everything except currency, foreign policy and defense. However, since the Czech Republic would never accept confederation, this proposal will not come to pass.[18] The only alternatives are federation or independence for the Czech and Slovak Republics.

The Party of the Democratic Left (SDL), previously the Communist Party is now a socialist party which gives priority to such problems as medical care, the building of hospitals, the environment, electric buses and social issues.[19] This party changed its name after the elections of June, 1990. As far as the Czechoslovak federation is concerned the SDL supports the idea of federation and would give more power to the central government than the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia.

The Green Party, an environmental party is also on the left vis à vis social issues and the environment.

Bohemia and Moravia

In the federal parliamentary elections of June, 1990, Civic Forum polled about 53% of the votes, followed by the Communist Party, the Christian Democratic Movement (KDU) and the Social Democratic Party (SD). Civic Forum, however, has since split into the Civic

Democratic Party (ODS), the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) and the Civic Movement (OH). These three groups are somewhat different in their socio-economic and political orientations. Of the three, the ODS is farthest to the right followed by the ODA. The OH is in the center. The Republican Party is, however, the most conservative party in the Czech lands. It emerged only after the elections of June, 1990. The Coalition of the Republican Party is only slightly to the left of the Republican Party. Both parties stress individual responsibility for what we do and are to the right of ODS. The Christian Democratic Union (KDU) is to the left of ODS but to the right of ODA and OH. The Club of Engaged Non-Party Citizens (KAN) is a party that wants to repair all the injustice done to those who were imprisoned by the communists, the return of property, and punishment for those responsible for these crimes.[20] It is a moderate party like the Civic Movement (OH). There is an attempt by several parties to form a rightist coalition composed of the Coalition of the Republican Party, the ODS, KDU, ODA, OH, and the KAN.[21]

The Social Democratic Party is the oldest party in the Czech lands. At the beginning of this century, the Socialist Party split with the Social Democratic Party. Now there is little difference between the two parties. The Socialist Party is a party of the center. The Social Democratic Party is on the left from the point of view of the Socialist Party.[22] For eighty years this party was Marxist while the Socialist Party was never Marxist. Now there is little difference between the two. The Social Democratic Party was purged by the communists in the late 1940s and the left wing of the party was merged with the communists.

Federalism

There are at present two commissions that are working on the new Constitution of Czechoslovakia. One of the two commissions is political and includes members of the federal parliament as well as the Czech and Slovak parliaments. Alexander Dubcek presides over this commission. The second commission includes professors from universities as well as members of the federal, Czech and Slovak parliaments. The second commission is very much concerned with human rights and freedoms.[23]

The problem of the various nationalities within Slovakia has generated the most debate. Representatives of both the Czech and the Slovak Republics have met with President Havel to express the concern of the Slovaks. The Czech and the Slovak Republics will make a state agreement to remain in a common state. Members of these commissions feel that it does not make sense to submit the new constitution to the Czech and the Slovak parliaments for ratification because Czechoslovakia already exists as a federal state.[24] At one time (before)1968, it was a unitary state. Ratification of the constitution by the federal parliament should suffice.

The federal parliament can ask President Havel to hold a referendum on the federation. If the law calling for a referendum does not pass the federal parliament, the Czech and the Slovak parliaments could pass a law allowing such a referendum.[25]

It is not clear yet which ministries will be federal and which ones will be left exclusively to the republics in this federation except that matters like defense, foreign affairs, federal taxes, currency and the environment are definitely federal while matters such as education and medical care definitely belong to the republics.[26]

Twenty percent of the population of Slovakia is composed of ethnic minorities such as Magyars, Germans, Poles, Ukrainians, Russians and Gypsies. Almost one hundred percent of the ethnic minorities in Slovakia favor the federation or a unitary state. Almost none of the ethnic minorities favor an independent Slovak state. One should recall that the Magyars in Slovakia who are close to 600,000 in number became part of the new Czechoslovak Republic in 1919 when it was a unitary state. When Czechoslovakia became a federation in 1968, the Magyars found themselves in the Slovak Republic. They have made it clear that they do not wish to be part of an independent Slovak state and if the Czechoslovak federation ceases to exist, they would prefer to join Hungary. These Magyars who live in southern Slovakia on the border of Hungary even lived in Hungary betwen 1919-1945 after Czechoslovakia was dismembered by Hitler.

Approximately eighty percent of the Czechs are in favor of the Czechoslovak Federation while ten percent support a unitary state and another ten percent an independent Czech state.[27]

In Slovakia, approximately sixty percent of the population is in favor of the federation; ten percent support a unitary state; ten percent favor a confederation; and twenty percent support an independent Slovak state.[28] As pointed out above, confederation is not an option since the Czechs would never agree. Probably half of the confederalists and all of those who favor a unitary state would choose federation over an independent Slovak state. Therefore, it appears as if federalism will remain the only viable solution to the problem of the nationalities in Czechoslovakia.

Conclusion

The nations of East-Central Europe are returning to tradition and among the Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia, this is a democartic tradition. In the Eastern third of the country (Slovakia) this democratic tradition is less strong. The Czechs have a good general level of education and a moralist approach to politics. The Czech and Slovak cultures are different. The Slovaks have a Catholic Hungarian pattered rural economy while Bohemia and Moravia are much more industrialized.[29] Bohemia and Moravia were part of the Holy Roman Empire, the heart of Central Europe while Slovakia was not.

In Bohemia and Moravia, the nobility was Protestant. They left the country after 1648, the year in which the Thirty Years' War ended and only the peasants and the lower middle class remained. They were stubborn and hard working and were often called the Swiss of Eastern Europe.[30]

The three biggest heroes for the Czechs are Jan Hus, Adam Palacky and Thomas Masaryk, names which represent religious, cultural and political freedom respectively. The Czechs feel that culture and morality cannot be separated and President Havel belongs to this same tradition.

The Slovaks lived for many centuries under Hungarian rule and do not have a democratic tradition. Whereas Czech nationalism like British and French nationalism has a liberal tradition, this is not the case with Slovak nationalism. Like Polish, Hungarian and German nationalism, Slovak nationalism is often identified with an autocratic if not at least an authoritarian tradition.

Czechoslovakia has an even balance between industry and agriculture and again has the potential to develop a large middle class. Liberal democracy has strong roots in Bohemia and Moravia and is taking root in Slovakia. Political parties are active in Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia. The drafters of the new constitution will most likely abolish proportional representation and introduce a winner-take-all system of electing candidates to office. This will reduce the number of political parties and lead to more stability. For all of these reasons, the prognosis for the survival of democracy in Czechoslovakia is good.

Footnotes

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5. Ibid., p. 238.

6. Report on East-Central Europe, Vol.1, No.1, 5 Jan, 1990 Radio Free Europe, p. 18.

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8. Ibid.

9. Andrew Pierre, "Recent Impressions from the Czech and Slovak Republics," talk delivered at pre-departure orientation for 1991 Fulbright-Hays Seminars Abroad Program, June 22-24, 1991, Washington, D.C. Center for International Education, U.S. Department of Education.

10. Meeting with members of the Ministry of International Relations of the Slovak Republic at the Vice-Ministry in Prague, July 30, 1991.

11. Interview with Dr. Sona Szomolanyiova, CSc, Dept. of Sociology, Comenius University, Bratislava, June 27, 1991.

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13. Meeting with active representatives of various political parties in Slovakia in the town of Nitra, Sunday, July 7, 1991.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18, Meeting with members of the Ministry of International Relations of the Slovak Republic at the Vice-Ministry in Prague, July 30, 1991.

19. Meeting with active representatives of various political parties in Slovakia, in the town of Nitra, Sunday, July 7, 1991.

20. Meeting with members of the Town Council of Ceske Budjevice at Ceske Budjevice Town Hall, July 16, 1991.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Meeting with members of the Federal Parliament of Czechoslovakia at Federal Parliament Building in Prague, July 12, 1991.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Interview with Jiri Musil, Director, Institute of Sociology, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Prague, July 11, 1991.

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Meeting with Representatives of Charles IV University, Prague, July 11, 1991.

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Interview with Jiri Musil, Director, Institute of sociology, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Prague, July 11, 1991.

Meeting with Members of Federal Parliament of Czechoslovakia, Prague, July 12, 1991.

Meeting with members of Town Council Ceske Budjevice, July 16, 1991.

Meeting with Mayor of Karlovy Vary, July 17, 1991.

Meeting with Vice-Minister of Finance Jaroslav Jurecka at the Vice-Ministry, Prague, July 22, 1991.

Meeting with Representatives of Minorities at the Vice-Ministry, Prague, July 23, 1991.

Meeting with Cardinal Tomisek, Archbishop of Czechoslovakia, Prague, July 25, 1991.

Meeting with Ministry of International Relations of the Slovak Republic at Vice-Ministry, Prague, July 30, 991.

A REPORT ON THE 1991 SUMMER SEMINARS ABROAD FULBRIGHT PROGRAM
IN
THE CZECH AND SLOVAK FEDERAL REPUBLIC:
THE PROMISE OF ADMINISTRATIVE AND ACADEMIC EXCHANGES

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INTRODUCTION:

During the Summer of 1991, I traveled across the Czech and Slovak republics as a participant in the Summer Seminars Abroad Fulbright program, "Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia in Transition," administered by the U. S. Fulbright Commission, the Institute of International Education and the U. S. Department of Education, in collaboration with the Slovak Academy Information Agency (SAIA), Bratislava. Originally, our program plans had included three-week stays in both Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. However, because of the Croatian-Serbian conflict along our proposed travel route, the Yugoslav portion of our trip was canceled, and our group was allowed to stay six and one-half weeks in Czechoslovakia. While this cancellation was regrettable, spending an additional twenty-three days in Bohemia afforded us an invaluable opportunity to investigate the many ways in which the social, political, economic, cultural and educational institutions of the Czechlands, as well as Slovakia, were undergoing profound transitions. I chose to study the development of U. S.-- Czechoslovak academic and administrative exchanges as my Fulbright summer project.

In this brief report, I shall, first, set the recent interest in Czechoslovak--United States exchanges--of students, scholars, administrators, information and materials--within a recent historical context; mention several reasons why many potential exchanges, at least to date, have remained unfulfilled promises; outline several fundamental components of a viable exchange program with Czechoslovakia; and compile a recent, selected bibliography relevant to the establishment of exchanges.

THE RECENT HISTORICAL CONTEXT:

Exactly two years have passed since those exciting, and (according to several of the union leaders whom we met this July), dangerous days of late Summer 1989, when a national Czechoslovak protest strike was called for 27 November. Millions around the world watched as, on 17 November, Vaclav Havel, with representatives of Charter 77 and other groups, met to form a Civic Forum; we saw a parallel organization, People Against Violence, established in Bratislava, to coordinate protest and demand reforms in Slovakia. We witnessed over 200,000 people pour into Prague on Monday, November 20th, and watched Mr. Dubchek address a crowd of 300,000 in Wenceslaus Square the next Friday. When over 750,000 demonstrators gathered in Prague on Monday, 27 November, and over 80% of the workforce joined in this day's scheduled general strike, the "velvet revolution" could not be stopped. A new coalition party was formed the next day, Prime Minister Calfa announced a coalition government on 10 December 1989, and dissident-writer Vaclav Havel was unanimously elected president on December 29th.

During the two years since then, discussions of exchanges and expanded U. S. relations with the Eastern Bloc have appeared frequently in professional journals and the popular media. Both the **New York Times** and **NAFSA Newsletter** have outlined the many reasons for and benefits of expanding communications with the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. Many academic and administrative exchanges have been planned, or formally established, between U. S. and Czechoslovak post-secondary institutions. A few of these had been organized before the revolution; many more have been proposed since 1989. Most of these linkages, to date, have focused on business, political science, economics, and ESL. Some have been institutionalized, and today are funded by U. S. universities, government agencies or a few private foundations; they sustain a variety of initiatives--study abroad, research projects, consultations, and teacher-training workshops. However, as Barbara Burn's research has discovered, some U. S. institutions have taken a "wait and see" position on initiating such bilateral agreements; and some linkages promised soon after the tumultuous events of Fall 1989 have floundered for lack of sustained federal funding.

Thus, in my summer conversations with Czech and Slovak colleagues, I was eager to understand their views on the need for exchanges, the types most beneficial to them, and the sources of funds available in Czechoslovakia for sustaining exchange activities; learn which U. S. institutions already had established exchanges in Czechoslovakia, and, of these, which were functioning effectively; and decide which type of teacher-training and shared research would be most beneficial to American and Czech-Slovak institutions during the next decade of transition.

UNFULFILLED PROMISES: THE REQUESTS FOR ASSISTANCE:

During the six and one-half weeks of the summer study trip, our group visited with representatives from a variety of educational institutions and agencies directly or indirectly responsible for the reform of post-1989 educational methods, materials and teacher-training, and the expansion of international outreach. These included staff members of the Slovak Academic Information Agency (SAIA), and Comenius University, Bratislava; the Matica Slovenska, and the National Ethnographic Museum, Martin; the Hotel School, Kezmarok; P. J. Safarik University, Presov; the Bardejov Spa and outdoor museum; P. J. Safarik University, Kosice; the Pedagogical, Economics and Foreign Languages Faculties staff, Banska Bystrica; the School of Mines, Banska Stiavnica; Masaryk University, Brno; Charles University, Prague; the Center for Theoretical Study, at Charles University; the Ministries of Health and Education, Federal Parliament, and the American Embassy, Prague. In addition, I also spoke about educational exchanges with Ambassador Shirley Temple Black, and with other American Embassy personnel responsible for educational matters and the administration of the Fulbright program, including Mr. Charles Wentworth and Mr. Joseph Krusich; with Mr. Vaclav Aschenbrenner, newly-appointed Director of the Fulbright Commission in Prague;, and with Dr. Jozef

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Miklosko, Vice Minister of the government of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. In conversations about exchanges with Czechoslovak instructors, administrators, scholars and students, with politicians and physicians, environmentalists and artists, several points were repeated constantly:

> First, each person, and his or her institution, was interested in, and, in many instances, already involved with, exchanges with the West, and, more specifically, with the United States. A number of our hosts, or their colleagues, had gotten "out" prior to 1968, or during the Prague Spring; these persons spoke with great nostalgia of their enriching and exciting study abroad experiences of this period, and noted very movingly, and with great pride, personal contacts and deep friendships with Westerners sustained since the end of the 1960s. Some said that they themselves would like to study again in the States, or come here for the first time, but, if over 50, most felt that they were too old for such adventures; many said poignantly that such opportunities had come too late in their lives, but that they would encourage younger colleagues, or their children, to apply for a Fulbright or other scholarships.
>
> Second, many were eager to learn the names of, and then write applications to, agencies and institutions which could fund their studies/research abroad. Most were puzzled by and requested assistance with the application process; they had no experience playing the applications "game;" some thought that if they were not selected on first try, they would not be allowed to reapply, or that re-application would reveal a lack of talent or professionalism.
>
> Third, many spoke of a need for assistance in many different fields, not only economics and business. For example, once the director of the Kezmarok Hotel School learned that my home institution, City Tech, had a hotel program, and that I was a professor of ESL, she begged me to send to her institution faculty with expertise in marketing, food processing, front office management, as well as ESL (English for Special Purposes). She preferred that they stay at least a semester, but also stated that intensive training programs of 2-3 weeks would be immensely helpful in making the Kezmarok Hospitality curriculum more relevant to the needs of the Western tourist, and, therefore, to bolstering the local economy. Once professors at the Kosice Medical College, and administrators at the Ministry of Health, learned that New York City Technical College offered a wide variety of programs in the health sciences, and granted 2- and 4-year technical degrees, they requested assistance with renovation of their science

curricula, the acquisition of new science books and periodicals, and the creation of medical courses in English (English for Special Purposes).

Fourth, our hosts, quite understandably, were daunted by the high cost of plane fares and American tuition fees required for their stay in the States, and realized that many "exchanges," might not be 2-way arrangements for a while. Instead, they expressed an interest in having Czechoslovak institutions invite American "consultants" first; they themselves would travel to the West once their economy strengthened, or they could secure a sizable scholarship. Many were willing to provide American professionals with campus housing, dorm food, and office space. They were quick to point out that American students and scholars could live relatively well in Czechoslovakia on a Fulbright stipend; most had little real comprehension of the current high cost of living in the United States, and the financial and professional difficulties which American faculty members might face as they tried to arrange a year's leave, maintain a residence in the States, and live in Prague or Presov on a stipend.

Fifth, all desperately wanted American books, periodicals, computers and other classroom supplies; all said that they would accept out-of-print textbooks normally discarded on American campuses. Political scientists in Prague and Bratislava, needing to revise their social science curricula, wanted history and political science texts. Designers at the Kezmarok linen factory asked for current fashion magazines (those they were studying were Soviet and European, 2-3 years old); the mayor of Most asked for English ecology books (and uniforms for his sports teams); and, in Karlstein, Martin and Prague, curators of ethnographic materials requested publications on museum exhibitions. Many of these colleagues seemed to believe that U. S. institutions could easily finance the purchase and shipment of these materials.

Sixth, many admitted a need for assistance in more clearly formulating their ideas about exchanges; some wanted to establish consortial arrangements with American schools and to write grant applications together with their faculty.

Each of our summer hosts agreed that the potential for substantive and mutually-beneficial exchanges between U. S. and Czechoslovak universities was tremendous. And many American schools seem interested in exchange agreements, sponsorship of visiting Fulbrighters from Czechoslovakia, or funding scholarships for students from the Czech and Slovak republics.

Yet, given the present economic climate on must U. S. campuses, it seems clear that the costs of such activities cannot be assumed by the universities alone. Thus we need to ask why American foundations and government agencies have not moved more aggressively to establish, and offer funding for, more extensive exchanges with such a strategic country in such a strategic part of the globe. Given the tremendous upheaval in the Eastern Bloc within the past two years, and the incredible changes which have occurred within the past few months in the neighboring Soviet Union, a willingness of American higher education and the U. S. government to develop exchanges seems crucial to strengthening America's global education expertise, economy, status as a world leader, and national security.

UNFULFILLED PROMISES: UNITED STATES SUPPORT FOR EXCHANGES:

Several factors may discourage American post-secondary institutions from a more vigorous pursuit of exchange involvements:

---a failure of some U. S campuses to recognize the importance of linkages with this part of the globe, occasioned in part by their long-standing lack of academic focus on Eastern European areas studies, multiculturalism, languages, and educational systems;

---the fear of political instability, violence, and terrorism in this region of the world;

---a general mistrust of a formerly-Communist country, now beset by complex, and costly, problems of pollution, inflation, and ethnic tensions;

---the impact of the U. S. recession on university budgets and foundation monies available for international education;

---a current national isolationism related to restricted domestic budgets, and the misperception that developing, formerly-Communist countries have little to offer our faculty, students, institutions, local economies and nation;

---the misperception that the Czechoslovak educational system is somehow inferior to that in the United States, and, therefore, not worth our concern and investment;

---the lack of a coherent national policy on exchanges with Czechoslovakia, and the rest of the Eastern Bloc;

---the lack of state and federal funding needed to support coherent programs aimed at providing assistance to Czech and Slovak institutions in an orchestrated series of consultations and exchanges;

---the lack of a central data bank on personnel and material resources which might assist U. S. and Czechoslovak institutions in the establishment of cost-effective consortial bi-national ventures.

FUNDAMENTALS OF A VIABLE EXCHANGE PROGRAM:

Within the past two years, American universities, foundations and government agencies directly or indirectly have coordinated and/or funded various types of Czechoslovak--United States exchanges. While the universities are too numerous to mention here, a partial list of these foundations and government offices includes: the American Czech-and-Slovak Education Fund; the Center for International Education at the United States Department of Education; the Central Europe Institute, Washington; Charter 77; the Council for International Exchange of Scholars (CIES); Eastern European Initiative Lectureships; Czechoslovak National Council of Women in Exile; the Fulbright-Hays Programs for students, scholars, groups projects abroad, and international visitors; the Fund for the Improvement of Post-secondary Education (FIPSE); the Hubert H. Humphrey Fellowship Program; the International Book Bank (608-L Folcroft St., Baltimore, MD 21224); the International Research & Exchanges

Board (IREX); the Institute of International Education (IIE); the Alexander Hamilton Program; the John Marshall Program; the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation; the Peace Corps; the Prague Spring Foundation (2524 1/2 Orella St., Santa Barbara, CA 93105); the Sabre Foundation, Inc. (Box 482; Somerville, MA 02144); the Samantha Smith Program; the Soros Foundation; the United States Agency for International Development (USAID); the United States Information Agency (USIA); the University Affiliations Program; and the Whitehead Foundation. In Bratislava, the Slovak Academic Information Agency (SAIA) has been coordinating exchanges, as have the Center for Theoretical Study at Charles University in Prague, the International Relations offices of major universities, and the national Ministries of Education and Health. Yet to improve the chances of success, the institutionalization of current exchanges, and the development of new forms of outreach to Czechoslovakia, must involve:

---more realistic expectations on both sides concerning what exchanges might accomplish, and the time needed to institute new programs;

---a greater focus on the development of the curricula in all fields, not only economics and business, with special attention to communications, ESL, medicine, the social sciences, the humanities and environmental sciences;
---the development of a data bank of personnel and materials resources, to facilitate the development of exchange agreements, and the appropriate matching of potential Czechoslovak and American exchange partners;

---the creation of a U. S.--Czechoslovak international resource bank of information on all exchanges currently operative in Czechoslovakia;

---the encouragement of consortial exchanges, to maximize resources and strengthen opportunities for teacher-training in a variety of fields;

---the arrangement of a series of short-term consultations by American and Czechoslovak experts, to determine the type of exchanges best suited to the needs of a country in rapid transition;

---the arrangement of short-term, 4-6-week intensive study abroad programs for Americans wishing to enroll in Czech or Slovak universities;

---the development of special ESL-ESP projects to address the need for Czechoslovak medical and hospitality and other curricula to be offered in English;

---the development of a series of intensive 2-3-week workshops in Czechoslovakia through which American grant-writers, professional experts, ESL instructors and exchange experts would assist colleagues there in writing applications to fund special programs and projects;

---the creation of 5- and 10-year plans for these exchanges, with the realization that their development will require long-term investment;

---the development of major projects to restructure the educational system of Czechoslovakia, and to include Czechoslovakia in projects to "internationalize" the American curriculum;

---increased funding from foundations, businesses and universities for these exchanges;

---a program of greatly expanded federal funding for exchanges in Czechoslovakia and other Eastern European countries.

As our Czechoslovak hosts explained so often, the events of 1989 created changes in the entire national infrastructure and all fields of study. The Summer Fulbright Program afforded its participants an invaluable opportunity to witness firsthand the effects of these transitions, and discuss with Czechs and Slovaks of many different professions their struggles to re-design the domestic agenda and expand international outreach.

While most of us lack the power to create Czechoslovak--American exchanges on a massive scale, we can arrange campus-based

Czechoslovakia-focused discussions, debates, library exhibitions, and concerts; we can urge our teaching colleagues, college administrators, professional organizations, community groups, student government and club leaders, as well as city, state and national politicians to support increased aid for the Czech and Slovak Republics; we can arrange college- and community-wide media coverage for the Summer Fulbright and our research projects; we can host visitors from Czechoslovakia on our campuses and in our homes; we can send books to the persons and other materials to the campuses we visited. Finally, we can maintain correspondence with the many persons who took time to receive us so warmly last June-August, mindful that each letter is a very important form of exchange and "ambassadorship;" that from personal relationships with a few persons can spring study, research and travel programs involving hundreds of students and scholars.

The "Czechoslovak exchanges" in which I am involved at New York City Technical College, the City University and New York University, 1991-1992, include the following activities:

---the development of research assignments for TESOL graduate students interested in teaching ESL/ESP in Czechoslovakia, through which they obtain information on recent political, social and educational transitions which might affect their employment as English/ ESP teachers;

---the development of English language curricula for the CSFR high school and college levels, as well as for special purposes (materials focused on the health sciences and hospitality management);

---the development of a data base of information on Czechoslovakia, including bibliographies for use in a variety of CUNY education, ESL, humanities and science courses;

---the development of a City Tech-CUNY lecture series on "Transitions in Eastern Europe," March 1992;

---the development of a City Tech Grace Gallery exhibition on "Women's Dreams, Women's Work: Themes in the Folk Art Traditions of Czechoslovakia," as part of International Women's Week, 1-8 March 1992;

---the development of lesson modules incorporating a study of transitions in Czechoslovakia into the City Tech social science curricula;

---the development of a year-long lecture series on "The Environment," through partial funding from NAFSA-International Educators, with a focus on the ecologically-damaged area of Most, CSFR, and the efforts which have been made to restore the "Moonland," November 1991 and April 1992;

---the reception of visitors from Czechoslovakia, as part of the City Tech International Visitors Program;

---discussions on hosting a Czechoslovak Fulbright Professor at City Tech, or elsewhere within CUNY, 1993-1994;

---the inclusion of several Czechoslovak universities and SAIA in the preparation of a Fall 1991 application for a FIPSE grant to internationalize the City Tech campus and curricula.

We are hopeful that these activities will develop successfully and continue to receive the college's financial support. And that City Tech--Czechoslovak relationships will expand as a result of my participation in the Summer 1991 Seminars Abroad Fulbright program.

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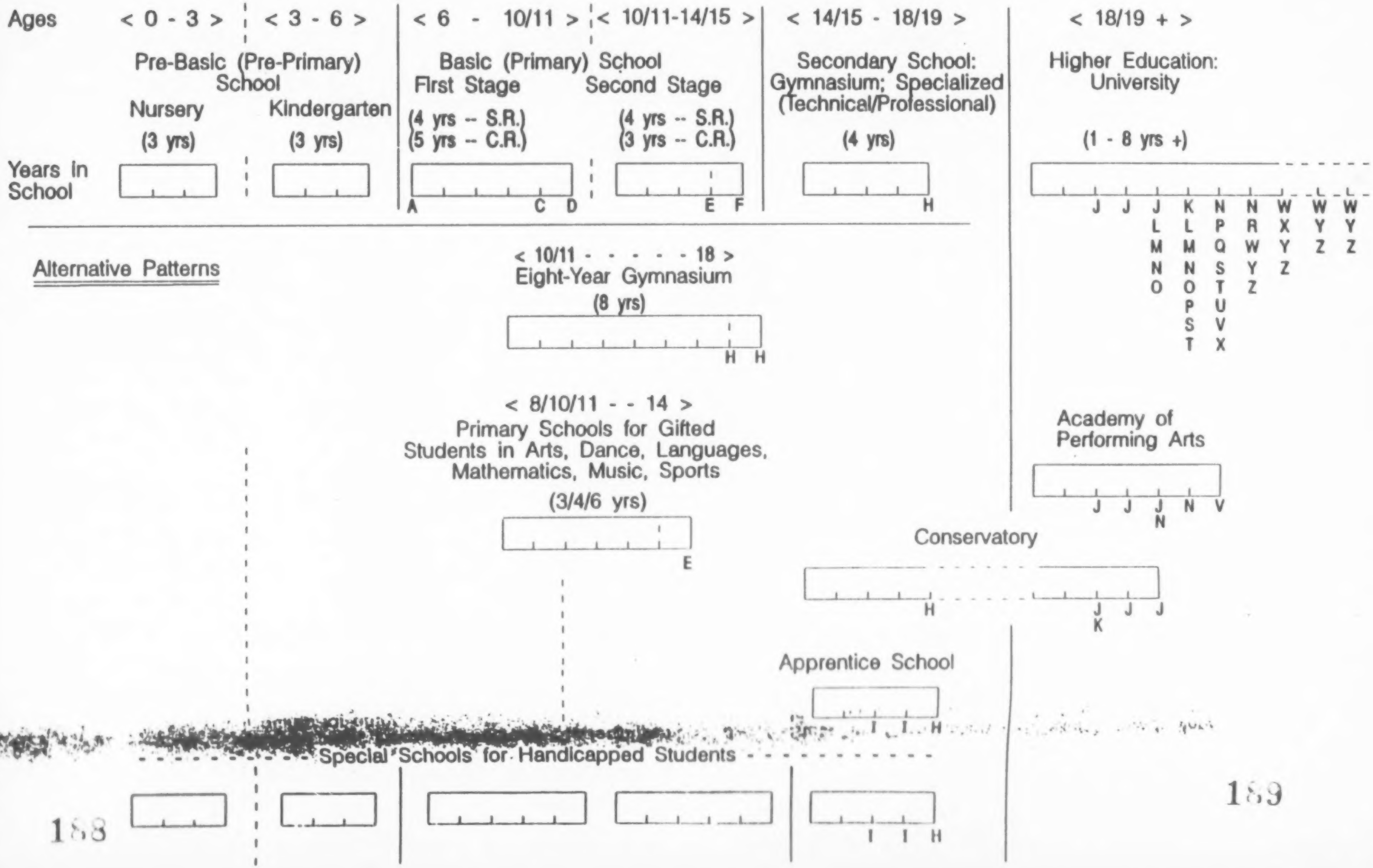
Ages
< 0 - 3 >
< 3 - 6 >
< 6 - 10/11 >
< 10/11-14/15 >
< 14/15 - 18/19 >
< 18/19 + >
Pre-Basic (Pre-Primary) School
Nursery
(3 yrs)
Kindergarten
(3 yrs)
Basic (Primary) School
First Stage
(4 yrs -- S.R.)
(5 yrs -- C.R.)
Second Stage
(4 yrs -- S.R.)
(3 yrs -- C.R.)
Secondary School: Gymnasium; Specialized (Technical/Professional)
(4 yrs)
Higher Education: University
(1 - 8 yrs +)
Years in School
A
C
D
E
F
H
J
J
J L M N O
K L M N O P S T
N P Q S T U V X
N R W Y Z
W X Y Z
W Y Z
W Y Z
Alternative Patterns
< 10/11 - - - - - 18 >
Eight-Year Gymnasium
(8 yrs)
H
H
< 8/10/11 - - 14 >
Primary Schools for Gifted Students in Arts, Dance, Languages, Mathematics, Music, Sports
(3/4/6 yrs)
E
Academy of Performing Arts
J
J
J N
N
V
Conservatory
H
J K
J
J
Apprentice School
I
I
H
Special Schools for Handicapped Students
I
I
H

NOTES

A - Satisfactory completion of Kindergarten required for entry.

B - *Vysvědčení* (CR) or *Vysvedčenie* (SR) - annual report card of 2nd year.

C - *Vysvědčení* (CR) or *Vysvedčenie* (SR) - annual report card of 4th year and (SR) of 1st stage of Basic School.

D - *Vysvědčení* - annual report card of 5th year and of 1st stage of Basic School in CR.

E - *Vysvědčení* (CR) or *Vysvedčenie* (SR) - annual report card of 8th year and (SR) of end of Basic education in respective republics.

F - *Vysvědčení* (CR) or *Vysvedčenie* (SR) - annual report card of optional 9th year and of end of Basic education.

G - Entrance examinations required.

H - *Vysvědčení o maturitní zkoušce* (CR) or *Vysvedčenie o maturitnej skúške* (SR) - Maturity Certificate from a Gymnasium, Specialized School, Special School for Gifted Students, Conservatory or 4-year program of Apprentice School.

I - *Výuční list: vysvědčení o zavěrečné zkoušce* (CR) or *Vyučný list* (SR, prior to 1990-91 academic year) or *vysvedčenie* (SR, beginning with 1990-91 academic year) - Completion of two- or three-year Apprentice School program (Usually located in a Specialized (technical/professional) school.

J - State Final Examination and *Bakalař* - new tertiary level degree beginning 1990-91 academic year, which may be granted after two, three or four years of study, depending on the decision of the Institution, faculty (school) and/or department involved.

K - *Absolutorium* - Diploma of two-year tertiary-level conservatory program or first degree in theology, awarded after five years of tertiary education

L - *Promovaný* (1953-66) or *Absolvent* (1966-89) - Diplomas awarded during years noted following successful completion of 4 or 5 years of tertiary education, thesis and state final examinations (depending on major).

M - *Diplom o absolvovaní* (pre-1989) - Diploma for teachers awarded after 4 or 5 years, depending on level of teaching (Basic or Secondary, respectively).

N - *Magistr* or *Magister* (since 1990) - Diploma awarded after 4 or 5 years of tertiary education, depending on field of study.

O - *Inžynýr* (CR) or *Inžinier* (SR) - Diploma in engineering, economics or egriculture awarded after 4 or 5 years of tertiary study, depending on field and year of issuance.

P - *Inženýr architekt* - Diploma in engineering for architecture or city planning awarded after 5 or 6 years of tertiary study.

Q - *Licentiate teológie* (ThLic) - License in Roman Catholic theology (since 1990) awarded one year after *Magistr teológie*, i.e., after 6 years of tertiary study.

R - *Licentiate teológie* (ThLic) - License in Roman Catholic theology (pre-1990) awarded two years after *Absolutorium*, i.e., after 7 years of tertiary study.

S - *Doktor* (Pre-1990) ("small" or "lower" doctorate) - Diploma awarded after 5-6 years of tertiary study, i.e., *Doktor farmácie* (Pharm. Dr.) (Doctor of Pharmacy); *Doktor filozofie* (Ph. Dr.) (Doctor of Philosophy); *Doktor pedagogiky* (Pae. Dr.) (Doctor of Pedagogy); *Doktor práv* (JU Dr) (Doctor of Law); *Doktor přirodných věd* (RNDr) (Doctor of Natural Science); *Doktor sociálno-politický věd* (RSDr.) (Doctor of Social-Political Science).

T - *Doktor medicíny* (MUDr) (Doctor of Medicine or Doctor of Dentistry), *Doktor veterinárnej medicíny* and *Doktor veterinárstva* (MVDr) (Doctor of VeterinaryMedicine) - (Pre-1990) Diplomas awarded after 5-6 years of tertiary study, depending on field of study.

U - *Akademický architekt* (Pre-1990) - Diploma in academic architecture awarded after 6-7 years of tertiary study.

V - *Akademický malíř* or *sochař* (Pre-1990) - Diploma in Fine Arts (painting or sculpture, respectively) awarded after 6 years of tertiary study.

W - *Kandidát věd* (CSc) (Candidate of Science) (Pre-1990 and possibly since 1990) - Diploma awarded 3 or more years after the "Inženýr or "small doctorate", i.e. after 7 to 9 or more years of tertiary study, depending on field of study and institution.

X - *Doktor teológie* (ThDr.) (Doctor of Theology) -

1a) (Pre-1990) Diploma awarded 1 year after Licentiate for Roman Catholic theology, i.e., after 6 years of tertiary study;

1b) (Pre-1990) Diploma awarded 3 years after *Absolutorium* for non-Catholic theology, i.e.; after 8 years of tertiary study;

2) (Since 1990) Diploma awarded 3 years after *Magistr teológie*, i.e. after 8 years of tertiary study.

Y - *Doktor věd* (Dr.Sc) (Pre-1990 and possibly since 1990) - awarded with varied justification after the *Kandidát věd*.

Z - *Doktor* (Dr.) (Doctor) (Since 1990) - awarded 3 years or more after *Magistr* or *Inženýr* or *Inženýr architekt*, i.e., after 7 or more years of tertiary study.

United States Department of Education
Fulbright-Hays Seminar, "Czechoslovakia in Transition"
Summer 1991

REPORT: WOMEN, WORK AND FAMILY IN THE CZECH AND SLOVAK FEDERATIVE REPUBLIC: CONTINUITIES AND CONTRASTS

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I. Introduction: The American Standpoint--A Context for Czechoslovakian Questions

In the past twenty years, "women, work and family" has become a major theme in the United States. The labor force participation rate of women has grown dramatically: for example, the rate for women 25-34 years of age increased from 45% in 1970 to 73% in 1988, and by 1988, 53% of mothers with a child under age three were in the labor force (Sorrentino, 1990).

Most mothers are employed due to economic reasons--as single-parent providers and in two-earner families--and generally also have personal interests in work and careers (Thompson and Walker, 1989; Voydanoff, 1987). "How to" successfully combine work and family activities and most especially, integrate family commitment with career success (and avoid "Mommy Track" career traps) has become an important issue (Friedman, 1990; Galinsky, 1989; Rodgers and Rodgers, 1989; Voydanoff, 1987). In contrast with Western European countries, the United States has lacked national public policies that can help harmonize family and work commitments such as maternity and parental leaves, interim part-time work options, and the provision of adequate child care services (Bakker, 1988; Hewlett, 1986; Kamerman and Kahn, 1981; Sorrentino, 1990; Stoiber, 1989). And, although American women are interested in more gender equality and symmetry in work and family roles (Belkin, 1989; Cowan, 1989; Dionne, 1989), they still experience the asymmetry of the "second shift"--doing most of the child care and domestic work in addition to remunerative work (Hochschild, 1989).

The resulting difficulties of integrating family and work commitments for American women were ruefully summarized in a cartoon caption: "Balancing work and family *isn't* the *hardest* thing to achieve. It's second: right after world peace!"

In Czechoslovakia, women have had a very high labor force participation rate--93% (Rohlen, 1990; Czechoslovakian Sources, 4; 6; 17), communist ideology and law have emphasized the importance of equality, and public policies have provided paid maternity leaves and numerous child care centers. Given the high labor force participation rate, the ideological emphasis on equality and the existence of work-family supportive policies, what has been the situation of Czechoslovakian women in combining work and family responsibilities? To what extent are there similarities and contrasts with the experiences of U.S. women? What changes are occurring in the current post-Communist era?

II. Research Methodology

The Fulbright-Hays Seminar "Czechoslovakia in Transition" involved three weeks in Slovakia and three weeks in the "Czech lands" during the summer of 1991. As one of sixteen United States professors participating in the study-tour sponsored by the U.S. Department of Education, I was privileged to discuss economic, political, and social issues with governmental leaders, university faculty, religious leaders, enterprise managers, workers and union leaders. My particular research focus on "Women, Work and Family in Czechoslovakia" especially benefitted from talks with the twenty sources referred to in the text and listed in the References, and I thank these women and men for sharing their views and experiences with me.

III. Czechoslovakian Women: Work Commitment, Career Achievement, and Combining Work and Family

Work commitment is partially expressed by labor force participation behavior (Zimmer and Trotter, 1991). By this indicator, and given a labor force participation rate of 93%, the work commitment of Czechoslovakian women has been at a very high level. In contrast with the U.S. trend, Czechoslovakian women's labor force participation rate is now declining (14) due to the lessening of overall employment accompanying the loss of markets, the reduction of redundant labor, and the development of policies which encourage mothers to stay at home (e.g., the extension of paid maternity leave from one to three years) (1;3;10; 17).

Given the high employment levels of Czechoslovakian women and Communist egalitarian ideology and laws, do women parallel men in achieving top positions? In the past and present, some Czechoslovakian women have been in leadership roles as mayors, members of city councils, members of the Federal Assembly and Ministries, physicians, attorneys, mangers, professors, vice-deans of faculties, directors of institutes, etc. (1;2;4;5;7;8;10;11; 18). However, in the words of one observer, such women are "exceptions" (3). Although women comprise about 50% of the labor force (14), they occupy only a minority of top positions. For example, in the 1991 seminar's visits to five Slovakian cities, the percentages of female members of city councils ranged from 11% (3 of 33) in Levoca to 19% (10 of 52) in Bardejov.

In contrast with U.S. experience, in the past, Czechoslovakian women generally did not aspire to top mangerial positions "because Communists were there, and functioning as a Communist was not valued by most women. And, in addition,economic rewards were not very great nor very much differentiated between the top and other levels or on the basis of how hard and effectively one worked." (17)

In addition to moderated aspirations, women's career achievement was also constrained by sexist orientations and practices. Women do not have equal opportunities in part due to "the general view that women have limited capabilities" (3).

As one female City Council member put it, "women have difficulties attaining open entry to jobs and career achievement--not a new problem!" (4) While women do not have a hard job being successful in medical schools, it's harder in the clinics because of the male bias of not wanting women as heads of activities (8).

Despite egalitarian ideology and laws, the prevailing management view has been that "women are not good for upper level jobs. If they're not married, something is wrong with them; if they're married and young, they'll be distracted by children; if they're older, they are obsolete" (3). And, while the law has specified that women should receive "equal pay for equal work," "that's theory, not, often, the case..." (3)

In addition to beliefs in women's work subordination, success in integrating family and work commitments and attaining career achievement has been constrained for women due to "bad jobs," inadequate services, and the heavy burden of the "second shift." Women have been expected to work, and because of a shortage of part-time jobs, the economic need to work fulltime, and a standard work week of at least 42 hours, most women have worked long hours (1;10;12;13).

Jobs were also often "bad jobs" in content and conditions. People had to "go to work," but once there, they often did not have "to work" very much due to overemployment (unneeded workers) (10; 15;17). Communist authoritarian control led to a lack of a sense of personal efficacy, value, and control of one's work (16;19), compensation was inadequate and generally unrelated to effort and accomplishment (1;3), and both factors led to a lessening of the "work ethic" at one's formal, main job (2;8;15;17;19;).

In comparison with Western nations, the burden of the "second shift" has been harder for women in Czechoslovakia because of the combination of longer work hours, inadequate services, and low levels of domestic work by men (1;3;4;6;13). "In the past, every woman had the "right to work"--at least two jobs!" (7) While careers were possible, attaining high positions was difficult partially because women were "too busy"to aim for high levels (7).

A typical Slovakian mother's work day (domestic and paid) has been at least from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. (1). Because of few shops and long lines, such women rise early to shop, cook breakfast for their families, prepare children for child care or school, take public transit to school and then to work, do more shopping after work...(1)

Difficulties in finding and having good services such as repair services added to the time-consumption of domestic work (1).

"Women have been forced to do all that men did--plus" (10) While some men, especially younger men, may help with domestic work, most do little due to traditional ideology and their absences from home because of long work hours in their primary or multiple jobs or traveling (1;3;13).

Women's"double shift" of child care and domestic work limits their career achievement. When women stay home, they lose work time, experience and achievement opportunities which results in a comparative lack of career achievement (3). The "second shift" constitutes a "Catch 22": since women's family work is hard and consuming, women are less reliable and therefore less desirable as employees and for higher level jobs (9).

Czechoslovakian women are tired (1). While there is a saying that Slovakians in general "don't know how to relax" and lack opportunities to do it, women especially (in both Slovakia and "the Czech lands") have lacked leisure (1;10;13).

Many mothers like to work (1;13;17), however, they especially like to do so after their children are grown (4) because they also appreciate being with their children (1;13;17).

Child care services have varied in adequacy--some have been of high quality, others have involved inadequate attention and care due, in part, to too many children for each caregiver and the long hours of child care necessary to cover the long hours of employment (1;3;17). In the view of many, children have been harmed by inadequate child care and parenting (1;4;8;13).

Because of the low involvement of men in family work, the unsatisfactory nature of most jobs, the inadequacy of services women have experienced great difficulties in combining family and work activities. The high employment rate has not been voluntary (6), and having to work has been experienced by many as oppression (13), "a form of modern slavery" (10)

All of the above has culminated in a currently dominant view: women, especially mothers, want to stay home (4). "We want ways to increase wages so women can stay home" (4). Women are "glad to stay home" (13). Paid maternity and parenting leaves are valuable for women, children and families--an opportunity for mothers to stay home with children and gain income and rest (13;10).

The extension of paid maternity/parenting leaves to a three year maximum meshes with an employment need to reduce the size of the workforce. As mothers welcome such leaves, and workplaces lessen unneeded labor and emphasize the importance of work productivity, some are concerned that women's use of leaves will perpetuate the work marginality and career subordination of most women (3;10).

In contrast with the expansion of paid leave policies, child care services are contracting. While some workplace centers are continuing, the need and rationale for such centers has lessened with the decline in the numbers of employed women (5;12;16). Concomitantly, mothers themselves caring for children at home lessen the need for community services (3). The government emphasizes continued commitment to promoting and subsidizing child care services (14), however, apparently at lower levels than before.

IV. Conclusion: Women, Work and Family in Czechoslovakia: Continuities and Contrasts

As in the United States (Thornton, 1989; Thompson and Walker, 1989), there are variations among Czechoslovakian women in their work-family orientations and actions--some are more traditional, others are more interested in combining work and family activities and in gender symmetry and equality. Although life-cycle stage and other factors are sources of variability, in an overall sense, combining family activities and employment is a shared and continuing challenge for women in both societies.

In contrast with past Czechoslovakian experience and the contemporary United States trend, the labor force participation rate of Czechoslovakian women is declining. At the moment, there seems comparatively less interest in Czechoslovakia than in the United States in women's career achievement and equal rights as issues (Bohlen, 1990; Dionne, 1989; Friedman, 1990; Schwartz, 1989; 1) As one member of the Federal Assembly put it, women's issues were de-emphasized in a previous political campaign because "nobody had rights here; a fundamental level of rights for all is needed first" (10).

In common with the majority of U.S. mothers of young children (Hayghe, 1986), many Czechoslovakian mothers prefer not to be employed fulltime when children are young. While the United States still struggles to adopt its first national unpaid leave law, Czechoslovakian women and families can benefit from paid leaves. United States and Czechoslovakian women's experiences may converge in a similar availability of mothers to young children: in the United States, through discontinuous labor force participation, part-time work, and the varying workplace availability of leaves, and in Czechoslovakia, through the use of "motherhood" leaves. Part-time work in the United States has not been mandated by law as a parental option as in Sweden, however part-time work has been widely used by American women as one way to combine work with family commitments (Callaghan and Hartmann, 1991). According to several Czechoslovakian sources, many Czechoslovakian women would prefer more viable part-time work options than have been available in the past. However, whether the lessened work experience of women (due to leaves and part-time work) in comparison with men may be compatible with work and career success, or conversely, results in subordinated work and career achievement remains an important issue.

The reduction in the number of child care centers in Czechoslovakia is in contrast with the current increase in the United States (Lawson, 1990). However, child care center levels may converge as the United States increases from a lower level, and Czechoslovakia decreases from a high level of availability. The quality of child care services constitutes a separate and fundamental issue in both countries. And, the Czechoslovakian experience with child care centers reaffirms that while the existence of work-family policies, is an important first step, the quality of the programs may be decisive in determining their usefulness in supporting the integration of family and work activities (Raabe, 1990).

While "more" American and Czechoslovakian men are interested in "doing more" family work (Thompson and Walker, 1989; 1;3;13), the disproportionate "second shift" for women (seemingly more so in Czechoslovakia but also the case in the United States) remains a constraint in both societies on women's achievement at work and harmonization of family and work commitments. And, despite seeminglysupportive work-family policies, high labor force participation rates, and egalitarian ideology and laws, Czechoslovakian women as well as U.S. women continue to experience sexist orientations and gender inequality.

Women and men in Czechoslovakia have had difficult lives under Communism, and difficulties continue in this time of restructuring and transformation. Alongside their fatigue is also a spirit of optimism and strength. As one man put it, "The past 40 years were a nightmare--now we can wake up and live" (15). And, a Czech woman emphasized that, despite the difficulties, most women do not want to be only at home but instead are used to being at work and somewhat independent: "they have learned to be efficient," and this skill will persist and sustain during this time of transition (17).

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2. Ludmila Malikova, Deparment of Politology; Iveta Fadicova, Department of Sociology, Zofa Butorova, Institute for Social Analysis; Tatiana Rosova, Institute for Social Analysis, Comenius University, Bratislava.
3. Jurej Wallner, computer science engineer, guide/interpretor, Bratislava.
4. Three women members of the City Council, Levoca.
5. Ing. Igor Rajniak, Tatralan Linen Factory, Kezmarok.
6. Maria Bayerova, Sociologist; Ludmila Urbanova and Anna Grmelova, English and American Studies, Safarik University, Presov.
7. Dr. Allingova Zlata, Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, Safarik University, Kosice.

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10. Cara Sankova, attorney, Member of the Federal Assembly, CSFR.

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13. Dr. Mahulena Cejkova, Member of the Federal Assembly, CSFR.

14. Jan Novotny, Dr. Roman Kidles, Dr. Zdenek Linhart and Dr. Petr Niederle, Deparment Directors, Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, CSFR, Prague.

15. Ing. Miloslav Haban, Skoda Concern, Vice-President, Personnel Plzen.

16. Matas Bohumir, Union President, Plzensky Prazdroj (Pilsner Urquell Brewery), Plzen.

17. Dr. Hana Havelkova, sociologist, European Centre for Human Rights Education, Prague.

18. Shirley Temple Black, United States Ambassador, CSFR, Prague.

19. Jiri Musil, Institute of Sociology, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Prague.

20. Vice-Prime Minister Jozet Miklosko, CSFR, Prague.

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NOW

COMMENTARY

Czechoslovakia in transition

Privatization of productive property, democratization of government and unions, development of a "new work ethic"--these are only some of the major transformations now under way in Czechoslovakia.

As one of 16 United States professors participating in this summer's Fulbright-Hays Study Tour, I was privileged to spend three weeks in Slovakia and three weeks in "the Czech lands" traveling and meeting with mayors and members of city councils, ministry and assembly officials, university faculty, religious leaders, workers at a cooperative farm and a TV station, and managers, employees and union leaders at factories such as Skoda cars, Tatralan linens and the Pilsner brewery.

Politically, this is a pivotal time for the "Czech and Slovak Federative Republic" as elected assemblies of the republics (Czech and Slovak) and at the federal, state level are developing constitutions defining the degree of association and integration of the two republics.

Despite some Slovak nationalistic sentiment and grievances against their "Czech big brother," a poll indicated that only 13 per cent of Slovakians want complete independence. Democratization is a major political change and challenge. As one city manager put it, after 40 years of Communist centralized power and citizen inactivity, "our main challenge is to operate as a free people"—in governmental politics, unions, and university governance.

A Skoda executive and a brewery union leader were among many who pointed to the need to develop a new work ethic. Despite a 42-hour standard work week, a policy of artificial full employment meant that many workers were "at work" but not working. Emphasis on more productive work, decentralization of control, and privatization of property are major industrial and economic changes.

Proceeding in phases to support Czechoslovak ownership and also gain foreign capital, privatization is welcomed by city officials who hope to develop hotels and other facilities for tourism (for example, in beautiful, old Slovakian cities like Levoca and grand Czech spas like Karlovy Vary [Carlsbad]), and by managers and workers who want improved technology.

Other issues of current economic restructuring include problems of worker retraining, workforce reductions and unemployment. Some are concerned about adverse effects on women's employment as paid maternity leave has been extended to three years and mothers are encouraged to take it. Conversely, some women spoke of being tired from the the burdens of the double shift of jobs and family work and welcomed such leaves, improved earnings for husbands and the subsequent option to "stay home."

In one man's words, "The past 40 years were a nightmare—now we can wake up and live." In so doing, faculty and students are eager to visit and study in the United States, and Czechoslovakian universities and schools are highly interested in gaining more teachers of needed subjects such as English and management.

In terms of all of the above, I will be pleased to share contacts and further information with members of the UNO community who are interested in educational opportunities or research on any of the economic, political and social trends of Czechoslovakia in transition.

—Phyllis Hutton Raabe, PhD
Department of Sociology

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Barbara Shovers
Research Project
Fulbright Summer Seminar--Czechoslovakia
Article for Maricopa Community College journal, Vision

CZECHOSLOVAKIA--THE PARADOXES OF FREEDOM

In the summer of 1991, I traveled to the Czechoslovakia Federal Republic (hereafter CSFR) for a study and travel seminar as a Fulbright scholar. We spent six weeks getting to know the CSFR country and people. Since we were the first Fulbright group to be received there, we were privileged to meet with many important and influential movers and shakers in that country, such as mayors, university professors, Parliament members, the Vice-Prime Minister, the U.S. ambassador, Shirley Temple Black, the Archbishop and Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church, and leaders of political parties. We traveled extensively throughout Slovakia, the Czech Lands, and Moravia, glimpsing historical as well as present day Czechoslovakia. The information which I impart to you in this article is an amalgam of the many people I talked with and my most vibrant impressions of the paradoxes which freedom has brought to this awakening country.

First of all, the CSFR is comprised of two nations, the Czech Lands, with Prague as its the capital, and Slovakia which has Bratislava as its capital. Even though the map shows these two nations under one federation, they have different languages and customs, and a nationalist spirit is resurfacing.

One of the paradoxes which freedom has brought to this country is in the area of education. The Velvet Revolution of 1989 (so named because of its non-violent nature) brought academic freedom and student power to universities. In some universities, giant upheavals of faculty and curriculum took place. At times, there was little understanding of what democracy meant, and students misused their power by getting rid of unpopular professors and watering down the curriculum. There was a kind of "square democracy" which developed in the heat of the Revolution without any real comprehension of its essential nature.

Entirely new departments were created and disciplines which were outlawed under the old regime reappeared, such as Political Science, Theology, Economics, and English. It was difficult, however, to purge higher education completely of old ideas and personnel, so many "former" communists continue to teach in the universities. Because of the emerging disciplines mentioned, new textbooks must be written and curriculum developed, and everything is happening at such a galloping pace that universities are unable to cope. There is a real dearth of materials, books, and technology just when the need is the greatest. For example, many people are now hungry to learn

English, but so few English teachers were trained under the old system that the demand for English classes simply cannot be met. Ironically, former Russian teachers are now being retrained to teach English. There are a lot of such ironies in the CSFR at the moment. Another paradox of freedom is that students must pay for part of their education which was free under communism, and it's a hardship for them. So, they're now free to study what they like but don't have the financial means to do it. The phenomenal literacy rate of the CSFR must be mentioned--a whopping 99% although it's doubtful that the second largest minority, the Gypsies, are calculated into the total.

Many paradoxes of freedom exist in the economy of the CSFR. Heretofore unheard of, there is now unemployment in this country. The rate of 6-7% in Slovakia is higher than in the Czech Lands since much of its industry was related to producing armaments. It's estimated that one half million people will be out of work by next year. The inflation rate is an astounding 40-60%. Skoda, the state run automobile factory which has been bought out by Volkswagen, will lay off about 10% of its workforce. There is now a 29% sales tax on new cars which will severely limit the purchase of vehicles.

There is talk of the "new poverty" in Czechoslovakia. Communism was a paternalistic system which took care of its people. In fact, there was overemployment, with three people often performing a job which required only one person. This practice fostered a lack of ambition in workers because there was no reward for high achievement or initiative. Fortunately, the people of Czechoslovakia have a long history of being hard and industrious workers with great handicraft skills which they can draw from again.

All of the services of the old regime, like fully supported health and child care are no longer provided. People must now pay for them. Interestingly, many women we talked to would like to stay home and raise their children in this new era instead of working, primarily because there were no choices in the past, everyone worked and the government provided childcare. Housing and food were adequate and guaranteed before. Paradoxically, freedom has brought less security in terms of the "basics" of life. The "State" no longer provides for and protects its citizens; people now have the freedom to choose their lifestyles and must provide for themselves. This is a double edged sword.

In the past, there were two economies, the official and the black market. Many people held two jobs to get ahead. They worked as little as possible in their "regular" job and then put energy into a second job on their own time or had small businesses. Today they must change their attitude towards their primary job, work harder, be more productive, and make money for themselves and their company since they must pay part of their childcare, health, and education costs. The CSFR has the great freedom to pay taxes now which were non-existent in the past. Oh, the cost of freedom!

Most experts we talked to said that it will take approximately 10-20 years to develop a healthy economy in the CSFR, and that it will require a real understanding of the free market economy in order to succeed. There must be a huge shift from obsolete defense industries to consumer-oriented industries. At present, however, there is no consumer buying power because there is more unemployment, inflation, and more cost for basic goods and services. People simply don't have the money to spend on consumer items. In general, Czechoslovakians are 25% less well off economically under a democractic system than they were under communism.

A wonderful irony is that the people who have the money to buy formerly government owned businesses in the great push to privatize are communists who managed to sock away money in Swiss banks. Former Communist Party members are the new capitalists! I must stress the word, "former", which everyone now claims to be since it's not politically correct to be a member, post-Revolution.

The political situation in the country is also filled with paradoxes. Now that more than one political party is lawful, there are a plethora of them--54 to be exact. The Slovak National Party advocates separation from the Czech Lands to become its own country. In reality, though, only 11% of Slovaks support separation. There's also a resurgence of national loyalties and hatred of minorities such as Hungarians and Gypsies. A government Commission on Human Rights is attempting to deal with these thorny and divisive issues at present. Almost every official and "person on the street" spoke about the "Gypsy problem" with great fear and hatred. Some of the solutions appear to further isolate them in special areas and in special schools. There is little attempt at integration and acceptance of this group. Under the old system, Gypsies were financially supported and had a lower profile. Now, they too must make their own way in a very hostile environment.

The greatest challenge faced by Czechoslovakians is to learn about what democracy really is and what is required of them to make it work beyond the slogans and euphoria. This effort will take many years of sacrifice and hard work. The problems ignored by the old system will now have to be resolved, such as the environment. The CSFR is a very polluted country; the life span there is six years less than that of Western Europe. New legislation to deal with these problems must be written. Expertise in every area of the society is needed, yet there is a fear of becoming too dependent on any other country again. Big brotherism, even in a benign way, is frightening to people. The technology is woefully inadequate to meet the needs of a modern nation. We witnessed reporters in the Parliament newsroom banging away on on manual typewriters because computers are a rarity. Czechoslovakia needs monetary and technical help from the West without being overrun by it.

There are a myriad of challenges and paradoxes which have been brought on by freedom and choices. Very few people who we talked to, however, would want to go back to the communist way of life. At least now they have the freedom to travel, if not the money. They have the freedom to study what they want, if not the needed economic, human, and technical resources to pursue their dreams. There is a great eagerness and hunger to learn about the West because they have been isolated for so long. There is a joyous outburst of religious freedom which was stifled before. There is a flexing of rarely used muscles where people are allowed to think and have opinions. There is the possibility of an intellectual playwright becoming president even though he doesn't really want to be a politician and is learning through many hard lessons. At least in 1991, in addition to enormous challenges, there are possibilities!

[Not To Be Quoted Without Permission]

CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN TRANSITION -- 1991

A CZECH AND SLOVAK DIARY:

NOTES ON A TRIP THROUGH CZECHOSLOVAKIA

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Henry J. Steck December 1991

CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN TRANSITION -- 1991

A CZECH AND SLOVAK DIARY:

NOTES ON A TRIP THROUGH CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Preface

These notes and reflections represent a project report for a Summer 1991 Fulbright Seminars Program grant titled "Yugoslavia and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic in Transition". I applied for participation in the program with the idea of taking as my starting point the transition of these regimes to either democracy or something other than western-style liberal democracy; the dramatic, and violent, emergence of sub-national and ethnic conflict in both countries; the creation of a new kind of national life in the framework of a model of revolution that we had not seen in the west. I was particularly interested in the way in which the changes were mediated in the lives of ordinary people and how they created a new, if new it was, society. I was also interested in the recreation or the recovery of civil society and in some of the institutions of civil society, e.g., mediating institutions such as trade unions and civic groups. I was also interested in the recovery of national memory of identity. These were broad contextual, rather than specialized, questions and they shaped my thinking as we travelled through Czechoslovakia. Happily, these interests were complemented by the diverse interests of my Fulbright colleagues.

Our* original plan was to travel for three weeks in Czechoslovakia and three weeks in Yugoslavia. With respect to both countries, these plans were disrupted by the very forces of history that we were sent to study. On the one hand, the outbreak of civil war in Yugoslavia forced the cancellation of the Yugoslav portion of our trip. On the other, responsibility for planning the Czech and Slovak portion of the trip was in the hands of the Slovak Academic Information Agency, a fact that gave a very heavy Slovak, as distinct from Czech, emphasis to the itinerary that was originally arranged for us. The cancellation of the Yugoslav portion of the project allowed the extension of the Czech component of the program and an unanticipated balancing of Slovakia with the Czech lands. We were thus provided, through the irony of history, an excellent and well-balanced trip. It was also a journey that could not be regarded simply as an academic venture: because the changes taking place are so important, in the perspective of American lives, the travels acquired personal significance at that vector point where biography and history and ways of thinking intersect. In sum, the project was instructive and enriching.

What follows are the preliminary notes, observations, preliminary lessons, and reflections of a person who is just beginning to learn. They are drawn from travels through Czechoslovakia -- or the Czech and Slovak Republic as it now wishes to be called.

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* The first person plural in this text refers to the Fulbright Study Group.

By Bus Through Slovakia, Moravia, and Bohemia

Significantly, we started in the Slovak capital of Bratislava -- where we spent too little time -- and then travelled through the countryside from East to West, from Slovakia -- towns, cities, villages -- and to the Czech lands of Moravia and Bohemia. Our path thus reversed the conventional tourist route; indeed, it went to places that American, or even western, tourists rarely go. We began from the margins, from the periphery, as Slovakia might be generally regarded, and moved to the center, i.e., Prague and the Czechlands of Moravia and Bohemia. Just as Prague is not Czechoslovakia, so also the Czechlands are not Czechoslovakia; nor are the politicians' voices in Prague or Bratislava the voices of the people generally or the people we met. As we travelled we talked to academicians, mayors, town councilors, members of parliament, members of political parties, church people from the religious communities -- Catholic and Jewish primarily -- journalists, and ordinary people. We saw schools and shops, factories and homes, farmlands and urban settings, we saw architecture that embodied a thousand years of history -- from the bare ruined choirs of castles and churches of Gothic art to solid bourgeois architecture of the Austro-Hungarian era to the disfiguring "socialist" architecture of the post-1948 regime. We saw the elegance and beauty of Prague, but also the scarred landscape of Most, the breweries where Pilsen is brewed, the shabby elegance of Marianbad, billboards advertising PC's instead of the glories of socialist construction.

General Background: Eastern Europe/Central Europe in Transition

The immediate background to this study trip, of course, were the historic changes that we have witnessed inthe last two years. It is understatement to say that has been a stunning transformation in the world scene. Without question, there was, in Czechoslovakia as throughout Eastern (now Central) Europe a Revolution....a peaceful revolution....a revolution in which crowds chanted in Wenceslas Square "Long live the students! Long live the actors!"

I am sure that most of us are familiar with these changes: from Stettin on the Baltic to Tirana on the Adriatic, from Moscow to East Berlin to Bucharest, the landscape of our lives for the last forty-five years was transformed with breathtaking rapidity. Just to list the changes is to suggest how historic the changes were: the crumbling of the Berlin Wall and of the East European Stalinist regimes it symbolized, the withering away in an instant of the totalitarian state, the retreat and then the disintegration of the Soviet empire, the reunification of Germany, the pursuit of the free market by societies that have lived under a variant of socialism, the emergence of democratic aspirations and, in some cases, the emergence of democratic politics, the "shock therapy" installation of the free market, the palpable joy of the people as they cast off their oppressors and occupiers, and, above all, the end of the Cold War. Lenin once spoke of revolutions as "festivals of the oppressed" and in 1989-1990 one could, witnessing the scenes from Prague on the television, fully appreciate the truth and the irony of those words. In the streets of Prague there was a revolution ... a peaceful revolution. It truly seemed to be, what Vaclav Havel, the playwright

President -- in the Czech tradition of intellectuals as Presidents -- called the "velvet revolution." More to the point, it seemed to be, as Havel said, as much a "moral" revolution as one of geopolitics and political regimes.

Looking forward to my travels to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, I was gripped by a profound sense of historic resolution. Created in the turmoil of World War I, these not-so-ancient states carried special meanings for twentieth century men and women. Was it not in the streets of Sarajevo, that World War I began; was it not in the hills of Croatia and Serbia that civil war raged in 1942-1944 with an intensity no less cruel than the Nazi onslaught itself; and was it not in Yugoslavia, in 1948, that one of the great Cold War dramas played out? And was it not the Czechs whom the west sold out to the Nazis in 1938 and was it not Czechoslovakia, the only Central European state with a firm liberal-democratic tradition, that fell to the Communists in a barely non-violent coup in 1948, thus singling the start of the Cold War? This was not just another study trip: it was a venture, short as six weeks is, for finding multiple meanings in states whose histories give meaning to the twentieth century. Small states; large meanings.

Captured in that meaning was this: Most of us have come of age in an era of war and crisis. For those older than I, the threat of fascism, coming on the heels of the great depression, followed by the horrors of World War II, were defining moments. Since 1949 we have lived in the shadow of a balance of terror, in a Strangelovian world which some now call "the long peace" and others the period of the second Thirty Years War. For those of my generation, the war against fascism and the Cold War have defined our sense of the world -- of our society and our culture and even our academic perspectives. With respect to the latter, it is extraordinary the extent to which the two the fascist and the Stalinist moments shaped the scholarly way of thinking. For those who, like myself, came of age as an academic during a period in which the very categories of "objective, scientific, and value-free" analysis were shaped by the wider politics. I am thinking in particular of the notion of "totalitarianism" which was taken as (a) a historic regime type and (b) an immutable and unchanging political structure. Totalitarianism was defined, for example, as a very modern development that comprised such elements as an official ideology; a ruling "vanguard" party of unshakable discipline; a controlled economy; the systematic use of terror as a mechanism of social control; the penetration of all aspects of society by state controlled mechanisms of propaganda, socialization, and mobilization; military force; and the like. This system was seen as one that could not be changed and would not change. Human agency, human history, as it were, had come to a halt with respect to totalitarian regimes. And even though the concept was subjected to alternative formulations and to searching criticisms, what might be called the "1984 image" continued to prevail. Half-consciously, it formed the sub-text of the way I approached this trip. It defined dichotomies of thought: free/not free, west/east, capitalist/socialist, prosperous/poor, gay/grim, bright/grey.

With this framework I was eager to observe and think about some of the subjects: the transition to democracy, a complex governmental form requiring not only institutions but also distinctive practices and culture; privatization and what was portrayed in the Western press as a dash to the free market; the development of new national identities and the coming to terms morally, psychologically, and socially with the pre-1989 "double bookkeeping" characteristic of these regimes; the role of collective memories in restoring a sense of public space; the recovery of civil society and its institutions; the decision about what road (welfare state, free market neo-liberal state, etc.) to take; the revival of pluralistic politics and civic life; the response of such systems as those of education and welfare.

There is one additional point. As we set out on our travels throughout Slovakia we became acutely aware that our hosts -- SAIA, the Fulbright authorities, whomever -- had planned for us a tour that seemed, as we saw it, more appropriate for tourists than for serious academics intent on studying Czechoslovakia in transition. The itinerary redesigned for us contained a long list of those inevitable tourist attractions, including what seemed an endless procession of castles and churches. At one level, this was irritating and unproductive in the extreme: we were, after all, to study Czechoslovakia, today, in transition and to this purpose the castles and churches of the 13th or 14th century, whatever their inherent interest to tourist or historian or CEDOK, the Czech still-socialist travel agency, were not relevant. In retrospect, however, there was a lesson to be learned from these ruins and these newly-opened churches and it was this: central to the revolution in Czechoslovakia is the task of recovering historical memory and recovering history. There is no doubt that a profound arena of contestation is the writing of history and as we travelled and talked to teachers, whether in universities, academies of science, pedagogical institutes, or ordinary elementary/high school, we became acutely aware of this.

I looked at the castles and churches differently -- tourist items though they remained.** The churches and castles taught two things. The churches revealed, first, a page of Czech and Slovak life that had been closed for forty years --the page of free religious practice -- and, second, a page of history that was contained in the art and architecture of the churches, crossroads often of Western Renaissance and Eastern Orthodoxy. To the extent that the life of the church, embodied in the iconography, was also an important element in the life of the nation we came to appreciate how much the restoration of national consciousness was bound up in the opening of the churches. The churches also recorded -- in the Catholic churches of Slovakia,

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** It should be noted that under the former regime many of these items were also featured in tourist itineraries -- hence CEDOK's reflexive shaping of our itinerary around such staples. The instinct of travel agencies everywhere is to go with the tried-and-true-and-old. Isn't a castle better than a Skoda factory? Isn't a folk festival more meaningful walking through food stores? And yet there was some benefit to us. Such are the dialectics of travel.

the Hussite churches of the Czechlands, and Baroque counter-reformation churches of Prague, the Synagogues, whether ruined or functioning -- the life of the nation across the centuries. Touristic though they were, the castles were not simply the materialization of a symbol encoded in the Kafka's novel, but also a record of the waves of wars and invasions that occurred. It raised a question, which I am not competent to answer, about the role of national memory in Czechoslovakia, how it was reworked by the socialist regime, and how it is now to be recovered or rewritten.

Self-evident though it may be, the reminder that Slovakia was ruled for a thousand years by Magyars/Hungarians and that the Czech lands (Bohemia and Moravia) were essential elements in the Austro-Hungarian empire, teaches a crucial lesson to the novice. While our focus was on Czechoslovakia in terms of the 1948-1989 and post-1989 periods, we need to understand that we witnessing the continuation of the long-break up of the great empires that dominated Europe at the start of the century: the Russian Empire, the Ottoman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian empire, and the Prussian Empire. In visible ways, we daily saw signs of this: the unresolved relationship of Slovakia to the Czech lands, the impact on Slovakia and on Czechoslovakia of the collapse of the Soviet/Russian market, the evidence of growing German influence, the ambivalent attitude of Czechs toward their arms industry, etc. Many of the questions we thought settled in 1918 are coming unravelled. Thus, in the former Soviet Union, we see a new round of state construction and nation-building. So also Czechoslovakia: although it was the most advanced of the East European "iron curtain" countries in the 1940s, it is quite possible that it too will experience another round of state construction and nation building.

Czechoslovakia

Our travels constituted not only a demonstration of Czechoslovakia in modern (or post-modern) transition, but also an invaluable history lesson. An understanding of the broader historical context is crucial to an understanding of contemporary Czechoslovakia. This relates in part to the idea that current Central Europe is in great part an example of 1918 redux, to the fact that the socialist regime which came to power through a coup rather than on the bayonets of the Soviet Army had indigenous roots and an authentic national agenda marked by extreme hostility to the First Republic, to the complex factors that explains the strong reliance of the socialist regime on the Soviet Union, and to the bi-national character of the federation.

Some short historical notes: Czechoslovakia, which sits at the East-West and North-South crossroads of central Europe, is 50,000 square miles, perhaps, the size of North Carolina. Its population is 15 million, of whom 5 million are found in Slovakia and 10 millon in the Czech lands. It is located in the geographic center of Europe. When Czechoslovakia was established in 1918, it inherited a significant part of the industrial capacity of the dismantled Austro-Hungarian monarchy and was economically quite advanced. Its society and culture was multi-national (Czech, Slovak, German, Jewish, Magyar, etc.) and had a strong working class. Its cultural life was sophisticated and cosmopolitan. It appears that inter-war Republic was a strong democracy, although I would personally like to study more deeply the character of Czechoslovakian democracy between the wars. For a number of reasons, including the betrayal by the west in 1938 and the assistance of the Soviets in 1944, Czechoslovakia displayed a strong Slavophilism.

In the course of our travels, I came to appreciate more fully some of the following historical points that form the context for looking at Czechoslovakia in transition:

1. Modern Czechoslovakia is an invention of our century: we are all familiar with the period of 1918 and with the role played by Thomas Masaryk, the founder and first President. Although creating a new state out of the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian empire and founding a strong western oriented liberal-democracy are well-understood facts, what is less well understood are the complex relationships between Czechs and Slovaks in this founding period, the continuing strength of a Slovak national consciousness, the strength of a Communist Party rooted in the industrial working-class of Czechoslovakia. The effect of these historical realities, among many, were brought home to us as we travelled: e.g., the continuing ability of the communists to draw votes in portions of Bohemia, the particular character of social and economic policy (favoring of heavy industry, favoring of the working-class by socialist social and wage income policy) under the "Socialist regime", the restoration of Masaryk as an historical symbol, etc.

2. I came away with a very strong impression of a mixed culture: in the Czech lands a strong bourgeois culture, an acquiescent political culture, and in Slovakia a conservative, rural, and Catholic culture. As one scholar has pointed out (Skilling) prior to 1948 Czech political culture was characterized by democratic and competitive politics, pluralism of parties & groups, national resistance to German predominance, strong orientations toward socialism, criticism of the imperial system of bureaucratic absolutism, demands for self-government. At the same time, active participation in the Austrian system left a mark: e.g., acceptance of bureaucratic and coalition type of politics, moderate step-by-step (etapova) policy-making, including opportunist bargaining. These traits continue to be present, as one observes the absence at the federal level of strong effective leadership.

A key question: what long-term impact on the political culture did forty years of a hard-line "socialist" regime have on Czechoslovakia? This is a key question that six weeks did not permit us to even begin to answer.

3. The Czechlands: The Czechs reflect their origins in the Austro-Hungarian empire. The Czechlands look west. The First Republic was well-developed in terms of its democratic institutions. It was a very bourgeois republic. Its Catholicism was soft. In our meetings with Catholic Church leaders I was struck by the difference between East and West: in Slovakia, Catholic spokesmen were conservative, paternal, hardline, domineering, traditional; in Prague, they more urbane, more cosmopolitan, less imbued with fervent religiosity. In the Czech lands, Catholicism was a less palpable presence.

One heard of Moravian nationalism, but it appears inconsequential at this point. One should also note the importance to the commercial, civic, and intellectual life of the pre-war Jewish population.

4. Slovakia: Under Hungarian rule for a thousand years, a struggling urge for autonomy, a national awakening in mid-19th century (schools, language, art), continuing hostility toward the Magyars/Hungarians. After 1918, a pervasive Czech presence. Slovak culture: many Slovaks certain share important values with Czech culture. Others, however, hold a distinctly Slovak nationalist (even separatist) and conservative (even authoritarian) character. One must underline again the historical situation of the Slovaks. Slovakia is historically, economically and culturally less developed backward due not only to the 1000 years of Magyar domination, but also to a ruthless policy of Magyarization (beneath a facade of parliamentarianism), restricted opportunities for political participation, more conservative politics. When the Republic was founded in 1918, Magyars (Hungarians) were replaced in the schools, media, civil service, intellectual circles, etc. by Czechs. The "assistance" bred a resentment which has not declined. For Slovaks, Czechoslovakia may have been an improvement, but they still felt themselves to be the junior partners, subject to domination from Prague.

a. Slovak national consciousness first emerged in the 19th Century and one need only visit Martin to fully appreciate the strength of the national awakening. Based on our talks with Slovak nationalists, I felt that Slovak nationalism (discussed more fully below) is characterized by a number of important features that define its attitude to the outside world: (i) a negativity and blunt assertiveness based on hostility to the Hungarians; (ii) a history of discontinuous development; (iii) a romanticism and lack of realism reflective of 19th nationalism but couched in 21st century rhetoric. For example, Slovak nationalists feel that despite its lagging economic development, Slovakia can be a viable independent nation by joining the European Community, a belief that rests on the unlikely assumption that the EC will readily admit Slovakia for the asking. The Slovak national "revolution", if one wants to call it that, has never taken its full place on the stage: junior partner in the First Republic, encouraged at first in 1945-1948 but then suppressed by the dynamics of the coup in 1948, encouraged again following 1969 (Federal status, favorable policies by Husak in most areas except religion), but never allowed to flourish. Feeling no doubt the resentment that Czechs displayed during the period of "normalization", Slovaks now feel even more a second-class status as economic hard times appear to hit Slovakia more harshly than the Czech lands.

b. Historically: While Czechs assumed the existence of a single Czechoslovak nation, they clearly took a big brother (not in the 1984 sense) attitude toward the Slovaks and thus denied full self-realization to the Slovaks. It is not surprising that Slovaks now assert a separate Slovak nationhood, autonomy, culture and demand home rule within a loose confederation or federal structure. Some even argue for full independence, looking for encouragement no doubt to the lesson of Slovenia and, one suspects, the republics of the former USSR and to a misguided notion about the receptivity of the EC to new members.

5. Note that Prague is readying itself to resume or to claim status as a major European capital. Some of the more farsighted intellectuals with whom we spoke were quite insistent on the importance of Prague's past and its potential importance as a major capital city in the future. As Prague goes, so goes Czechoslovakia, they seemed to suggest. Question: can it avoid becoming, what one Czech colleague termed, a Disneyland? Can it avoid the what one call Veniceization?

6. One tends to think of Czechoslovakia in transition from communism as a matter of returning to those halcyon days before the communist coup of 1948. This is a mistake: in fact, both the Czechlands and Slovakia have lived under one form of authoritarian/totalitarian regime or another since 1938. Democracy came to an end in Czechoslovakia following Munich: for the Czechs there was the "Protectorate" and for the Slovaks the Hlinka-Tiso Slovak "Republic", a clerico-fascist regime that was a collaborationist regime whose crimes deserve not to be forgotten or forgiven. (Father Tiso was tried and executed following the war.) One must note a tale of two nations in World War II.

In short, democracy and freedom and national independence (however these complex values are defined) were not restored in November 1989 after 41 years, but after a full half-century. The rebuilding is, therefore, extensive.

7. 1945: When the war ended, Czechoslovakia was in a strong position: it was not a defeated enemy (like Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria), it had not suffered great destruction during the war (Poland, Yugoslavia), it had not seen extensive fighting, especially in the Czech lands, compared to Yugoslavia. The government-in-exile of Eduard Benes was in London but returned home via Moscow where Benes signed a pact of friendship with Stalin. The new Republic was declared in Bratislava.

Indeed, one might note here the difference in the anti-Nazi resistance movements in the Czech lands and Slovakia. The Slovak National Uprising of fall 1944 represented a profound effort at resistance against both the Nazis and the clerico-fascist Tiso regime; as we observed, it continues to be part of an active historical memory, though linked with the assistance provided by the Soviet army. Throughout Slovakia we saw monuments, plaques, memorials, museums, and the like testifying to the Uprising. Not so in the Czech lands, at least from what we could see. A minor observation: the Heydrich assassination, which lead to the Lidice affair, was planned in England. The Czech paratroopers who killed Heydrich were betrayed to the Nazis by one of their own number (who was executed after the war). The treatment of the Jews during the war was unrelenting: Terezin (Theresienstadt), after all, is located on Czech soil. In light of the events of 1938-1945, one can understand why Sudeten Germans were expelled at the end of the war and why President Havel's statement that they should be allowed to return caused such consternation.

8. 1948: The communist "takeover" was a coup which contained uniquely domestic features: popular friendship toward the Soviet Union for its role in crushing Hitler and supporting the SNP (Slovak National Uprising of November 1944),

bitterness at the betrayal by the west, socialist sympathies, and, as indicated above, a left-oriented working-class. By end of the war membership in the CPCS had climbed to 1 million from its prewar level of 80,000. The communists took power backed by considerable popular support. In light of this, the harshness of the communist regime is surprising.

9. As indicated elsewhere, the Czech socialist regime was a very Stalinist regime and was among the more repressive of the East European regimes. Given the advance level of development in pre-war Czechoslovakia, this remains a puzzle: how could a people (or peoples) who displayed prior to World War II such advanced economic, social, political, and cultural development -- it was the most western and democratic of the Central European countries -- have fallen victim to such a harsh regime. Part of the answer it seemed, as we talked to people, lay in the antagonism to the bourgeois republic by the communist movement and to a certain passive and acquiescent character in the Czech political culture, something remarked upon by a number of individuals. "Czechs never oppose or resist" until it is too late, one academician said.

10. The 1968 experience -- the Prague Spring, the Soviet invasion, the period of "normalization" that followed -- is central to understanding 1989. This period is, as J. F. Brown puts it, the "watershed in the history of communist rule in East Europe." It showed, as did the 1956 events in Hungary, the extent to which the Soviet Union would go to maintain its position and that of the ruling cadres it controlled. At the same time, it showed, as did 1956, that the totalitarian model, against all expectations, could change and evolve and that reformers, national communists, and the like could develop new positions. As Brown observes, "its ideals became the forbidden fruit of reformers everywhere."

Prague prefigured many of the ideals we see flourishing today: personal freedoms, political pluralism, economic reform, a certain moral integrity. In a variety of ways, it remained a force following 1968, despite the grim events that followed. The latter included "normalization", including the Purge of between 500,000 and 1 million individuals (everyone we talked with had a different number); a policy of consumerism (private homes in the country, still much in evidence as the focus for private lives) which saw rising standards of living (at an all-too-visible cost to long-term investment, modernization, engagement with the world economy); "circuses" (i.e., superficial popular entertainment); a tilt to Slovakia; and rejection of reform.

Linked to this, of course, was the Charter '77 movement and the key role played by dissidents, particularly intellectuals. Based on our extensive conversations, it seemed that many of the key players in 1989 were victims, or children of victims, of the post-1969 period. There are a number of hypotheses that can be developed here about the process of historical change, the undermining of whatever legitimacy the regime had, the exhaustion of energy by a tired and aging elite, Slovak-Czech tensions in this period, etc. As well, one must note -- what came as a surprise to me -- the role played by President Carter -- "a hero", one leading intellectual put it -- and his commitment to Human Rights and the impact of the Helsinki accords. Pressure from Gorbachev after 1985-1987 played a role, but so also the Human Rights movement initiated in the west.

Finally, one must note the dual society that grew up: the intense focus on private life (e.g., week-end cottages), on a moral split on the part of many, on the sullen decline of public life, etc. Overcoming the duality of society, economy, and morality is a central task for a free Czech and Slovak society. The troubling question that remains, however is this: will the Slovak pursuit of nationalist ideals, or demons, distort the process of recovery?

11. There was little serious reform in Czechoslovakia during the last ten years of the socialist regime that could be considered parallel to that in Hungary or even in Poland. Strong pressure for reform of one type or another existed, generated both from abroad (the Gorbachev factor, need for foreign capital) and internally (reform minded economists). But the regime resisted measures that would have threatened its power or its Stalinist structures.

The economic situation, as we learned, took its toll: many Czechs and Slovaks with whom we talked resented the stupidity, as they described it, of the former regime as much as its repressive character. The regime was resented for insulting the people by its stupid behavior, e.g., lack of modernization. Today, the economy lags far behind and is not able to compete on Western markets. An appropriate work-ethic is lacking; even today the attitude "we pretend to work, you pretend to pay us" continues in many sectors, despite the abundant evidence of energy, creativity, and hard work in both privatized and publicly-owned businesses. Unwise investment decisions, including foolish location of plants, ecologically destructive policies, a heavy emphasis on weapons productions, a too heavy (if unavoidable) reliance on the Soviet Union as a trading partner continue to take their toll. It became clear that western discussions about "unleashed ethnic hostilities" fail to take into account the economic context of that unleashing.

12. Toward the end: the regime just plain held on until it collapsed in the space of virtually ten days, but, as we learned, following a year of rising dissent.

13. The Velvet Revolution. The hallmark of the Czech revolution is its "velvet" quality. In our travels during the summer, we found that the "velvet" nature of the revolution to be one of the most complex moral and intellectual questions on pubic an private agenda. It is a nice phrase that masks complex and troubling questions. What does "velvet" mean precisely? What are its implications? I return to this question below.

Some Observations and Thoughts: Not Conclusions

What follows are observations and notes. I start with two quotes from yesterday's dissidents: Jan Urban, now a leading columnist and intellectual, and Vaclav Havel, now president. Both suffered from the harsh cruelties of a police state during the period of the former regime.

> Jan Urban: "The big European wall has been broken through, and the barbed wire barriers have been cut. And it turns out that was the easiest part".
>
> Vaclav Havel: "A year ago we were all united by the joy of having liberated ourselves form the totalitarian system; today we have all become somewhat neurotic from the burden of freedom. Our society is still in a state of shock. It could have been predicted, but no one predicted that the shock would be so profound. The old system has collapsed, the new one is not yet built, and our life together is marked by a subconscious uncertainty about what kind of system we want, how to build it, and whether we have the know-how to build it in the first place."

Was it a Revolution? The question I am most often asked returning is "was it really a revolution or just another change at the top?" "Are people only happy," one skeptic asked me, "because they are supposed to be happy?" In talking with people from all walks of life the answer is assuredly, Yes. Again and again I was reminded of Lenin's statement, quoted above, about revolutions. The joy that was so visible in the photos of Wenceslas Square was real and at some very important levels is still present despite the rigors of daily life. Clearly, the revolution means the sweeping away of the Stalinist regimes with all the mechanisms of control. It means the Russians are gone, that Marxism-Leninism is no longer an obligatory subject in the university, that Russian language lessons are no longer the "first" language, that western scholarly materials can be had (at a price), that streets and metro stations can be renamed, that churches are opened. Far more, it clearly entails freedom in ordinary terms for people to go about their business, speak freely, create art and ideas freely, travel, engage in open politics, live free of fear of terror or foreign domination, practice religion.

It is visible at many levels from many people and for different meanings -- not all of them joyful. Some examples:

- Vaclav Havel: Tva vlada, lide, se k tobe navratila! (People! your government has returned to you!) [Quoted by Timothy Garton Ash]
- The Deputy Mayor of one town who proudly held up a key for us and declared: this is the revolution. This is the key to the reports of the secret police -- they will never be seen again.
- The hope by a trade union leader in Pilzen that his brewery can at last be modernized; the pride he takes in the work of his factory.
- A women in her late twenties or early thirties, a graduate student of art, who worked in an academy where, in her group, she was the only non-party member. Now she can study what she wants -- can put aside the study of "safe" 19th century art to study modern art. For her, the revolution meant "personal responsibility".
- For a translator and tour guide, the fact that he can buy 1984 in a

bookshop -- that he no longer needs to read it, as he once did, by having it smuggled from abroad.

- For a middle-aged teacher of economics at a pedagogical institute, the revolution brought a shadow of sorrow and missed opportunities: the previous regime did not let him travel; for the new regime, he is now too old (at fifty) to receive assistance to travel abroad.

- For a teacher of English literature at a university, the unjust expulsion, during the revolution, as a "communist".

- For a young academicians it means that he can travel to the west -- but he cannot afford to, that he can read western academic texts and journals -- but his libraries cannot afford to buy them. It means that his or her meager wage remains near the minimum.

- For a young women who came of age as a Catholic in an underground prayer cell, the openness to practice her religion and to work for her church.

- For hundreds of Jews in Prague, at last, to register with the Jewish Community.

- For tourists, to see Prague again -- by the hundreds of thousands.

- For VW, 40% of Skoda.

- For Vietnamese contract workers at Skoda, the prospect of returning (of being forced to return?) to Vietnam.

- For workers in a Slovak textile factory, the loss of markets.

- For a self-employed "consultant": the chance to speak English, to go into business for himself.

- Throughout the land, bookstores carrying books never seen before from Henry James to Elizabeth Taylor's biography (Taylorova), an apparent best seller, to sex manuals. English texts, sex manuals, western literature. Bookstores and bookstalls are crowded, whether in Prague or in small rural Slovakian villages.

- For a feminist, pornography -- the means for destroying the sexual prudery that had enveloped the society.

- For many working mothers, perhaps, the ability to stay home and raise children.

- For many Slovaks, national identity -- the recovery of historic memories, values, and heroes -- and perhaps national independence and sovereignty.

- For school teachers, the ability to teach the truth; for students, the opportunity to learn English, not Russian.

- For journalists, the opportunity to learn -- but a hard lesson to learn -- and practice a new kind of journalism.

- For an angry American, a Slovak emigre of 1946, in a hotel lobby in Kosice: frustration at the difficulty of having property returned to him that was taken in 1948 from his family. Our question: should it be returned to him?

It is truly a revolution. It is a revolution in the full social science sense of the term: new property relations are being created, as private property and a free market are restored, even as shock therapy; the creation and recreation of a legal system and the need to create a new class of lawyers to make private property work; for academicians, the opportunity to design intellectually significant research agenda openly and to restructure, from top to bottom, the system of higher education and research; the redesign of curriculum, especially in history and civic education, in the elementary and secondary schools; the opening of the society and culture; the creation of a new constitutional order -- one of the most problematic and tangled issues; a new orientation in foreign policy -- toward the West and toward Europe; the development of a pluralized political system; the rewriting of a rewritten history; the redesign of the welfare state; the penetration, to some extent, of the national economy by foreign businesses; the development of new civil organizations, e.g., trade unions.

It is also a revolution in outlook for many ordinary people. Whatever the difficulties, I heard no expressions of regret. (Of course, one must ask whether regret would be expressed to American visitors travelling under the sponsorship of the United States government? Still, the conversations were too long, too personal, too informal to suggest dissembling.) To be sure, in parts of Bohemia, the communist party still received substantial votes, but this was a reflection, or so it seemed, of traditional left voting by working-class voters or of dissatisfaction with current conditions such as unemployment or high prices. It was not a vote for the status quo ante 1989.

In responding to the indisputable evidence of deep and sweeping change and in responding affirmatively to the emotional relief of people now freed from the secret police, it is tempting to simplify what went before. By all evidence, the regime was stubborn, repressive, conservative, and parasitic. It sat like a heavy weight on society. Still, I found constant surprises that reminded me that life is not as simple as cold war stereotypes might suggest. To take one small example. A visit to an art museum and to the academy of art, for example, revealed art produced throughout the 1980s that was sophisticated, diverse in style, and apparently well attuned to developments in the west -- from abstract expressionism to neo-expressionism, from pop art to conceptual art, etc., etc. This was not, moreover, work that took place through samzidat or in exile, as literature did. Conclusion: careful studies would be necessary to study the forces that were at work prior to 1989.

The revolution was working its way long before November 1989. The communist state was withering away and crumbling, losing its energy, aging, long before the dramatic events of summer and fall 1989.

What kind of revolution is it? When the wall came down, many in the west thought that East Europe might opt for a Swedish-style social democracy rather than for a Thatcherite/Fridemanesque free market. They were wrong. Many, but not all, social guarantees are retained, but Finance Minister Klaus, apparently an exceedingly popular figure, is imposing the free market. No social democracy here. It is a revolution and a bourgeois revolution at that. Private property, private schools, a voucher system to create a property owning population, elimination of some social services such as food subsidies, transportation subsidies, daycare facilities.

(It might be added here that the political spectrum is currently weighted toward the right and center-right. Despite the existence of some parties on the left (socialist, former communist, Greens) the label "socialist" is very much out of favor these days. There is no strong center-left or left social democratic party or presence. Parties to the left are simply weak. The splits in Civic Form and the Public Against Violence (the Slovak equivalent) have not generated a strong social democratic movement. There is a pluralism of parties -- a healthy sign -- but the party system has yet to develop stability. This is not surprising, witness the example of post-Franco Spain or post-1958 France. Moreover, issues are cloudy: in Slovakia, many individuals told us, nationalism has replaced communism as an all embracing political creed. Politicians are prone to demagoguery, particular ex-communists who have adopted nationalist positions: I have no way of judging the accuracy of this. Finally, the upcoming elections should see a shake-out of the very numerous parties and perhaps the beginning of a crystallization of political forces. As matters now stand, the constellation of parties differs markedly from town to town. There appears to be lacking a strong articulation of political forces from the local to the national level. Consistent with Czech traditions (i.e., Masaryk), Havel has detached himself from parties and appears to stand above the fray in a kind of Gaullist posture. (Coming to grips with the political scene was the single most difficult task we faced: I did not feel that we succeeded.)

A confession: Throughout our travels, I felt repeatedly that the inner core of the revolution was escaping us. What needs to be studied closely, and what we could not study closely -- could, in fact, barely glimpse -- was the revolution not in Prague but in the towns and villages throughout the Federation, in the institutions of society, in the life of families, and in the outlook of ordinary working men and women. We would often ask our hosts, as we moved through the rural countryside, "how did the revolution come here", but the answers could give only the most fleeting insight.

What does the revolution mean to ordinary Czechs and Slovaks? I hesitate to answer. If I were asked what I would like to do to more fully understand what is taking place, my answer would be this: the opportunity to settle for a year in a small town, to be provided with a full time translator, and to live among the people and the social institutions to witness the establishment of a peaceful revolution.

The fact is that the meaning of the revolution is ambiguous, ill-defined, opaque, and often a matter of intuition, broad ideals, vague expressions, amorphous expectations. Time and again, we would ask What does the revolution mean to you....what does democracy mean? I would be hard put to distill a precise and clear answer. The sweeping away of repressive structures ... of secret police ... of imposed curricula in the schools ... of stupid policy-makers. The departure of the Soviet army. All this was there, but the society is still groping, I believe, for a more settled answer. Freedom and democracy comes with many meanings. Here are some of the shades of freedom and democracy and revolution that I gleaned from a summer of conversation:

- Absence of a repressive state structure: this is, I think, the most basic and primal meaning. Its negativity expresses the positive impulse to live free of restraints, to enjoy basic liberties. Here is the basic meaning of human rights, but what new structures does it lead to? What affirmative expectations are embodied in the joy of enjoying basic rights?

- National independence: for Slovaks in particular, the revolution has a national meaning and, I fear, nationalism is the core component rather than any John Stuart Mill notion of individual liberty or James Madison notion of constitutionalism.

- Consumerism: freedom to enjoy material abundance, whether now or later, of the western market.

- What I would call westernism: a perceptible hungering for the west, and particularly for things American and English; a desire to rejoin the west -- to find a new home; a headlong rush to plunge into western culture -- both at its most serious and most popular level. American policy-makers are missing the boat, as the Germans are not, by not doing more to respond to this hunger.

- Individualism: to makes one's own way, to have personal responsibility, to be entrepreneurial, to hustle and work and enjoy the rewards of the free market -- whether money, ideas, travel, etc.

- Liberal democracy: given the complexity of constitutionalism and the culture of constitutionalism (about which Americans in particular tend to be unjustifiably smug), this is problematic at this point.

- "The Velvet Revolution": There is a profound tension between the terms "velvet" and "revolution". Can the revolution be truly complete if there is no holding to account those who served the Stalinist regime those responsible for the repression of forty years? Can there be true national reconciliation -- the deeper meaning of "velvet" -- if the

> revolution does hold those responsible to account through a system of purges?

While there was, therefore, a joyous greeting of the revolution, the inner meaning and historic logic of "the revolution" is yet to be settled. There is no question but that by 1991 there was a darker side to the revolution -- a sense of expectations not met. Here are some of the doubts, apprehensions:

Too Velvet a Revolution? In one of our meetings, an academic colleague in Slovakia suddenly exclaimed: "the revolution was too velvet!" It was a sentiment we were to hear expressed time and again as we started to ask, "was the revolution too velvet". The meaning of "velvet" is complex. At one level, it is simply an expression of pride that the change of regimes in November 1989 was accomplished without violence and force. At another, it seemed to me, with my imperfect chance to explore the point at length and over time, to mean a revolution of reconciliation and a revolution that did not seek to settle accounts with those who served the previous regime.

The "old gang" -- the "communist mafia" -- "turncoats who claim to be democrats": they, I was bitterly told, are still running the show. "Former communists, high elected officials even, still think and behave like communists; they corrupt our politics". "They enrich themselves". "The prison guard has a better pension than his prisoner". These were some of the expressions I heard about those who ruined the country morally, politically, ecologically, and economically yet still had good jobs and careers.

But the terms collaboration and collaborationist bear many meanings. What does it mean to have "collaborated" with the socialist regime? Does collaboration in this context have the same meaning as collaboration with a foreign occupier? Indeed, the very word "collaboration" is, in the European context, an emotionally charged word, summoning up the image of betrayal and treason, of a Quisling and a Petain. The socialist regime may have owed its life to the Soviet presence, but it was not brought to Bratislava and Prague by Soviet tanks, at least not before 1968. Still, as we talked with people, we became aware of a deep desire on the part of many individuals that those who collaborated must be held accountable for their actions.

To hold those accountable for their actions? Easy to say. But what actions? And how to hold to account? A democratic purge? A different kind of "normalization"? Many of those with whom we spoke understood that the leading figures of the regime or the secret police or the most active party members or police spies must be held to account. But what of those who were reformers within the party? or simply acquiesced? or cooperated in order to protect one's father or mother or to assure one's children of an education? What of those who cooperated somewhat, squeezed as they were by threats on the one side and proffered rewards on the other? And what of those whose names turn up, wrongly, in police files as having helped or those who helped unknowingly and unintentionally? Can we in the west judge, whose social science argued that totalitarianism was unchanging and eternal?

And, further, what is the measure of dissidence: exile? active participation in Charter '77? leading a private life and avoiding politics? The Jan Urban's and Vaclav Havel's are heroes, as are those individuals we met who were purged and spent years as bricklayers, hotel porters, living from the charity of family, stoking furnaces, suffering in prisons. Are they the only heroes? In doing moral calculus, one might well recall the less than total success of the denazification program in post-war Germany or the wounds left by purges in post-war France. Our Czech friends understood these dilemmas better than we: could a revolution be truly velvet (recalling Mao's statement that a revolution is not a dinner party) and could "velvet" be truly revolutionary? This was, perhaps, the most troubling and morally vexed issue we dealt with, even more than the national issue.

Afterword: It is worth noting that in October the Parliament did pass a law to purge former communist Party officials and police informers from high and middle-ranking posts in the civil service, the still largely state-owned economy, and the courts and the universities. The law, which does not include elected officials, will cover about 10,000 persons. In December a law was passed imposing a one-to-five year prison term for "supporting or promoting movements such as fascism and communism." (This issue is not confined to Czechoslovakia: in Germany, soldiers who shot persons escaping the Wall are now on trial; a recent Hungarian law could retroactively criminalized thousands of former Communist officials. Polish authorities are considering similar legislation.) My sense is that these steps have simply intensified a very public and very bitter debate: it is no surprise that President Havel and Jan Urban, a leading political writer, have expressed discomfort with the law.

Establishing Democracy: The most difficult issue for us to understand was the constitutional question. Understanding constitutional issues and constitutional conventions ought to be no problem for Americans. We breathe the air of constitutions, litigation, blueprints, federation, compromise. But we had no luck. Both the process and the politics ultimately escaped us, chiefly because the interplay of politics and constitutionalism was so complex that even those with whom we spoke we uncertain of how the game was playing out. While the simple categories unitary, federal, confederal were used in discourse, it was impossible for us to follow the debate with documents and without prolonged access to parliamentarians and party leaders. (Never mind that in summer, everyone seemed to be on holiday or that documents in English were not available or that legal terminology differed.)

Yes, there was an on-going process seeking to devise a constitution for Czechoslovakia that would satisfy Slovak national aspirations and the Czech desire for a federation. Yes, there was a law passed authorizing a referendum, but it was not clear that the Slovaks wanted a referendum, at least on a federation level. That much might have been expected and in our innocent, not to say naive, American manner, we probably wanted clarity where there was none. There was no consensus on the ultimate outcome: the constitutional process could not move forward, I see in retrospect, until the parties decided what kind of state, or states, would exist at the end of the road. Most pressing, in other words, we learned in talks with some intellectuals, was the inability or unwillingness of those who were remaking the state to come to terms with the very juridical and moral foundations of constitutionalism. We were clearly innocents abroad.

National leaders, we were given to understand, were also in too much of a rush to do other things -- privatize, join Europe, etc. -- to deal with the complexity of building a new constitutional order. Against a backdrop of joy with the revolution, there was a sublte foreboding that the moral revolution that Havel projected would not be accomplished.

Where are the students? Because we were in Czechoslovakia during the summer holidays, we did not have the opportunity to talk with students. In so many ways, students were the vanguard -- well, perhaps the shock troops -- of the revolution in November 1989. But from all accounts the students were now overtaken by disillusion, withdrawal, and passivity. Was it a matter of overwrought expectations? We could only take what we were told and wonder, what of the successor generation? If young Czechs cannot make a public life for themselves -- develop what in another context is termed republican virtue -- will the democracy they develop be more hollow than real?

Materialism and the Ills of Western Life. Of course, freedom has its dark side and it was reported to us in gloomy terms: increasing crime, inflation, low wages, unemployment, pornography, materialism. Since the summer there have been outbursts of "skinhead" violence against gypsies. (The gypsy problem is not unique to Czechoslovakia. But it is a real if second-level problem. Popular feeling is not kindly toward gypsies.)

People and Government

It goes without saying that creating a democracy is a difficult and complex task involving not only institution-building, but the evolution of a political culture supportive of a participant and liberal freedoms. On this score, more study is necessary to arrive at even tentative conclusions. Thus far, I believe, the record is rather mixed. On the one hand, many of the structures are in place (parties, an electoral system, institutional structures, a more or press that is free from external control but not from constraints of money and newsprint and capital equipment, etc.).

On the other, developing a political culture and a political community -- that is, creating a public space and a vibrant civil society -- is still a distant matter. I was especially interested in the evolution of secondary organizations, e.g., trade unions. While new trade unions are being built, often with substantial assistance from Sweden, Britain, the U.S., Germany, the task is hard. Under the previous regime unions were controlled from above, regarded at best as a provider of low-level benefits (e.g., summer holidays tours, worker hotels in resort areas, etc.) and at worst as an instrument of the regime. With the change, unions must be rebuilt from the bottom up, a difficult task given the absence of a cadre of experienced and credible leaders, the lack of a participant culture, the complication that the major employer is still the state so that negotiations are conducted at a national or republic level, etc. One cannot look for the revival of unions as a major force in public life in the near future; the evolution of democratic unions -- remembering that unions in the west are generally characterized by low-level of participation and declining membership levels -- is likely to be even slower. (An aside: do we hold up criteria of judgment that our own western societies would not meet? It often seemed to me that we did.)

Unions are not unique. Many individuals with whom we spoke were acutely aware of the need for the revival of civic life. Thus far, frustration seems to characterize efforts in this direction, e.g., the role of citizen groups in local planning.

Recent polls confirmed our impressions regarding people and the institutions of society: in late 1990, for example, trust in unions and in big business stood at only 27%, in the press at 43%, in the Church at 43%, in Parliament and Government at 44%. (For Americans in particular, judgments must be tempered with the knowledge that the United States displays the lowest level of voting of any major western democratic nation and that levels of participation, levels of trust in institutions, levels of knowledge and information, as some measures of the vitality of public life, are relatively low .) It was encouraging to find on the part of many Czechs and Slovaks a very sophisticated and nuanced awareness of the problem and of an acute awareness of the need for enhancing civic education in the school system. Conclusion: The grassroots are not yet flourishing. It will be some time before we can tell whether the critical element of constitutionalism, i.e., the idea of a limited state and an autonomous society, is instilled.

As for politics more generally, the relationship between people and government is both problematic and changing. Against the expectations of 1989 there is an inevitable let-down. The participatory excitement of 1989 is rare: democracy is often a humdrum matter, politicians quarrel and bicker, issues are not resolved, ambitions overcome ideals, demagogues overpromise, governing is boring to read about, etc. It was not surprising for us to learn, therefore, that since 1989 there has been a decline of popular satisfaction with the political situation and a lowering trust in the political systems, its institutions and its representatives. This is reflected as well in a declining readiness of citizens to participate in political life. Levels of trust in political and social institutions are lower in Slovakia, but not by appreciable amounts. There is support for demagogic, even authoritarian politicians. There is a disjunction between people and leaders such that the political climate of the country depends on the performance and presence of leading politicians rather than public opinion. With respect to economic policy, there are sharp national differences: Czechs are more supportive of Klaus' neo-liberal dash for the free market than are Slovaks, on whom the weight of economic hard times has fallen. The course of Slovak nationalism may well depend on the course of the economy in Slovakia. A survey report by the Association for Independent Social Analysis found that much of the population moves in a kind of political vacuum, unable to identify any prominent political force which would attractively and legitimately express their attitudes and interests. Is it any wonder, then, that the students who made the revolution have retreated and feel their revolution has been stolen?

These findings suggest another approach, that is, a focus on the leaders. Only the most utopian of populist democrats would expect the people to generate spontaneously a full-blown liberal democratic society in which constitutional practices and popular involvement are both present. The creation of a democratic community rests heavily on the role played by leaders. On this score, I came away with two partially contradictory conclusions: on the one hand, I was impressed by the energy, seriousness, and commitment of local officials and parliamentarians whom we met; on the other, I was also struck by the criticism I heard of national level leaders. Former communist leaders were regarded with suspicion, viewed as demagogic nationalists in Slovakia. President Havel was criticized for failure to give a strong lead and for standing above the conflicts between parties. Other leaders were criticized for playing for short-term gains: "everyone is afraid to tell the people the truth".

While support for basic democratic values is strong -- stronger in the Czechlands than Slovakia perhaps -- current economic troubles and Slovak aspirations strain the long march to a full democracy. A special responsibility falls on leaders, then, to govern effectively under trying conditions while simultaneously seeking to encourage the evolution of democratic values. The latter task is complicated, of course, by attitudinal differences between the republics, by current levels of public passivity, and by the fact that trust in leading personalities is higher than trust in the political system. One interpretation of current polls, then, might be this: the legitimacy of the system will depend upon the performance of leaders; a new system of democracy is not yet strongly embedded -- and why should it be after only eighteen months? -- such that the failure of leaders will not compromise the legitimacy of the system. This is not to suggest that failure will produce undemocratic outcomes, as may well happen elsewhere in Central Europe or the Commonwealth of Independent States. It is to suggest that the system of Parliamentary democracy may be more formal than real.

Key Issues: Economic Reform -- the National Question

From Socialism to Capitalism? A core question, of theory and practice, is whether the conversion of the economic system by neo-liberal*** policies will produce the productivity and economic growth they are designed to. Can a dramatic and rapid swing away from the command economy to the free market repair the damage done to the economy? Will the free market expand the arena

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*** Liberalization is here understood to be Vaclav Klaus' strategies that include free market policies, sweeping measures for privatizing most big and small businesses, elimination of subsidies, etc. With reference to western economic policy, Klaus's policies may be understood by reference to the policies associated with former Prime Minister Thatcher of England and to the theories associated with Profess Milton Friedman of the United States.

of freedom and well-being? I am not competent to address the economics of these questions. I will, however, note that Klaus' policies and their consequences constitute one of two central political issues facing the Czech and Slovak public and shaping the course of Czech politics. Throughout the country, it seemed to us, the attitude toward Klaus and his reforms provided the key dividing point. Whenever we asked individuals, especially those who had split from Civic Forum, for example, about their politics, the economic issue was the line of cleavage. Pro-Klaus or anti-Klaus, pro-free market or reservations-about-the-free market, free market or concern for the social costs of the free market. Though the center of gravity in the political spectrum appears, roughly, to be at the center, the political debate that cuts through the two republics is polarized around the issue of economic reform. This is the case despite the absence of a viable social democratic or other left party or movement.

Klaus has no doubts. His critics, however, fear the social impact of market reform, inflation, unemployment, the cut in social services, and the decline in the standard of living. Even those in the political center fear that he is going too fast and that the social costs of his policies will be severe. We heard this from village officials who lack the resources to provide the level of municipal services they believe necessary, from university officials whose subventions have been cut, from mothers who no longer have access to daycare facilities. Partisan debate is fierce in Czechoslovakia. Klaus' partisans are not above denouncing his opponents as socialists -- or worse. There is no doubt that the economic situation is severe and that the revolutionaries of November 1989 inherited an economy in crisis, one that lacked even the reforms put into effect in Hungary. Nonetheless, one is left asking whether economic reform will strengthen or fatally strain the effort to create a democratic society? Will hard times intensify the forces of Slovak nationalism (or even skinhead neo-fascism)?

There is another side to the question, perhaps a more academic one at this point. Will the rapid introduction of liberal policies encourage the opening of public space in a social and political sense? This relates not simply to the direction of reform, but also its pace and the way in which the government deal with the negative impacts of liberalization. Increased fears regarding the social impact of reform, e.g., the loss of jobs in small towns and villages, could lead to negative mobilization or sheer inactivity on the part of segments of the population. It could lead in Slovakia to stronger support for nationalist formulas of the type "if we were free of Prague we could join Europe and be prosperous". Trust in and success of Klaus' neo-liberal policies could well strengthen trust in still-growing democratic institutions. Should one be hopeful: it is hard to say on the limited evidence we gathered. One should, however, remember that the "democratic" and "bourgeois" parties temporized in 1948 when they should have acted more decisively.

From One Federation to Two States? The second core issue is the national question. Enough has been said throughout about the Slovak-Czech question to eliminate the need for extended discussion. Several observations are in order:

1. There are real differences between Slovakia and the Czechlands. The languages are slightly different, but similar enough that Czech and Slovak speakers can understand each other. Levels of economic development differ. Lingering resentments exist from the differential treatment that the two republics received from the Socialist government. The introduction in the late 1960s of a federal structure remains a point of departure in current disputes over the nature of the Czech and Slovak Republic. The histories and historical memories differ: Slovakia, as indicated above, still bears the sharp pains and grievances of a thousand years of Hungarian rule. Slovaks also bear resentment against Czechs for what they regard as the haughty and superior attitude of Czechs toward Slovaks, especially during the 1918-1938 period. While both are Catholic, Slovak Catholicism is more conservative, more traditional, more hegemonic in its claims and aspirations.

On a wide range of political issues, Slovak and Czech public opinion differ: Slovaks have less trust in existing institutions and seem more pessimist overall about the future. Slovakia is still developing its own sense of national identity, a process begun only in the 19th century. Nationalist feelings are stronger in Slovakia. Czechs seem, as one analyst put it, more secure in their identity and appear often to be indifferent to the feelings of their Slovak compatriots. Slovaks will glower at Hungarians and Czechs; Czechs will shrug their shoulders. For Slovaks, the revolution of 1989 appears chiefly to have been a national rather than a democratic revolution. Slovaks believe, rightly I think, that they are taking the brunt of Klaus' free market policies. Resistance to Klaus' radical neo-liberal policies is thus linked to Slovak nationalism.

2. National feelings in neither Slovakia nor the Czech are characterized by a quality of antagonism or hatred. Ethnic differences elsewhere in Central Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States may lead to violence and bitter conflict. Not in Czechoslovakia. Interestingly, there appears to be a generational response among Czechs to Slovak agitation for independence or greater autonomy. It is a matter of fathers, sons, and grandsons. Czechs of the generation of 1918 appear to be sad over the tensions between the republics, to regret the difficulties, to mourn the loss of the ideals of Masaryk. Their sons and daughters, by contrast, fret over what appears to be a somewhat intractable political problem, but it is hard to say whether they have deep emotional attachments. The grandchildren of 1918 -- the generation of the 1980s -- display an attitude that says, "if they want to go, let them go and get it over with".

The Western press tends to compare to Czech-Slovak strain to the Serb-Croat problem or to ethnic conflict elsewhere in Central Europe. This is a mistake. The differences appear more analogous to those of Quebecois and English in Canada or to Flemish and Walloons in Belgium. There is no prospet of violence or civil war, despite ugly street demonstrations in Bratislava in recent months. President Havel has stated he would not try to keep Slovakia in the Federation by force. But he is committed to the common state. In recent months, he has taken a number of steps recently to underscore the relation of equality between the Republics, e.g., opening a new presidential office in Bratislava Castle. He has expressed recognition of the Slovak aspiration toward full national fulfillment.

3. As suggested above, the issue is being fought out in constitutional terms. The debate has produced a real constitutional crisis that imperils the federation, a development that has escalated since the summer. Although we met ardent Slovak nationalists, the words that fill the air are "federation", "confederation", "sovereignty", "competence", "referendum", etc. The issue is not entirely legal as some Bratislava leaders -- e.g., Prime Minister Carnogursky and former premier Meciar -- are using constitutional issues to intensify the political pressure. There is currently a constitutional stalemate and if it cannot be resolved, the two Republics may indeed split.

4. There is reason to believe that the most militant expressions of nationalist feeling flow in part from opportunistic Slovak politicians, including former communists looking for an issue to mobilize support. The hardline attitude of the Slovak National Party (SNS) has forced the other parties (Public Against Violence, Christian Democrats, etc.), somewhat against their better instincts, toward the nationalist right. At the elite level, some Slovak politicians are pushing for measures that could conceivably produce an outright split. From this perspective it is not surprising that Slovak leaders (Meciar, Carnogursky, SNS) have rejected a referendum, authorized by law in July. They have taken an increasingly uncompromising stand during the autumn. Nor is it surprising that President Havel has pushed hard, but for far unsuccessfully, for a referendum.

While the SNS receive only 14% of the vote in Slovakia in the 1990 elections, it appears to be setting the political pace and forcing other to follow its rowdy lead. By contrast, all we heard suggests that at most 10% of the Slovak population wants total separation; another 10%-15% want a loose confederation; and the remainder prefer a common state. Overall, through summer 1991, I believe there was limited popular support for separation, although Slovak voters do support parties that do. Moreover, I believe that support for a separation is localized regionally in Slovakia, e.g., in Bratislava and Martin, rather than being uniform throughout. Indeed, we met Slovaks who rejected separatist thinking in rather coarse, emphatic, and rude terms. Nonetheless, a worsening economic situation, agitation by hardline separatist politicians such as the popular Meciar, and passivity by the bulk of the population could produce a break. Certainly, I have the impression that nationalist agitation has introduced troubling elements into Slovak discourse: a rather tradition form of anti-semitism, for example, is in evidence.

Conclusion: For the outside observer in the summer of 1991, the connection between economic reform, Slovak nationalism, and the building of democratic institutions and attitudes forms the political essence of contemporary Czechoslovakia in transition.

The Recovery of National Memory

We learn, in our studies of totalitarian regimes, how history is falsified to serve the ideological and political purposes of the regime in power. Certainly, there is ample evidence of this in Czechoslovakia: the reading of the Hussite rebellion, the presentation of the role of the Soviet Union during the war, the downgrading, to the point of exclusion, of the role of Masaryk, the effort to give secular meaning to the historical mission of Saints Cyril and Methodius, etc. How does a nation recover its national memory after fifty years? How does a nation avoid its own falsifications in reaction to the totalitarian experience. Let me provide several suggestive snapshots:

The recovery of memory by the Jewish community: In Bratislava, we were fortunate to attend an opening in the National Museum of an exhibition on the Slovak Jewish community. The exhibit was on the third floor and the line ran down the stairway into the street. Side by side with religious objects were the photographs of the Jewish experience during World War II: the expulsion of the Jews into the concentration camps, the selling of Jews by Slovak authorities to the Nazis (sic!), the destructions of synagogues, the yellow stars. Tears flowed down the cheeks of many of those viewing the exhibit. In Bratislava itself, there is little trace of a once flourishing Jewish community: what the Nazi's began, the communists completed with massive construction projects.

The recovery of Slovak identity: As we travelled, we saw an exhibit to the memory of Rev. Jozef Tiso, the Roman Catholic priest who presided of the Slovak Republic established in early 1939 in response to Hitler's threat to open Slovakia to Hungarian rule again. For his collaboration, Tiso was hanged in 1947, before the communist coup, as a war criminal. As we travelled we found that attitudes toward Tiso were complicated and troubling. Without question, Tiso was a war criminal: Catholics felt that a priest should not be executed, the Archbishop felt that Tiso was caught between harsh alternatives and chose the best, others looked back positively to the Slovak Republic of the war period, while admitting there had been mistakes. Attitudes toward Hlinka, the priest and political leader who lead the nationalist movement in the 1920s and 1930s, and toward Tiso, his successor, served as a litmus test for feelings of nationalism. Rewriting the history of the period is part of the recovery of national memory: even Prime Minister Carnogursky has spoken sympathetically of Tiso. We heard the suggestion that the revival of Tiso's reputation -- e.g., a plaque in his memory put up at his birthplace in Bytca -- is accompanied by a rise of anti-semitism. There is, we also learned, a process of reevaluation taking place, but, depressingly, the work of scholars will not offset feeling the feelings of a people looking for national symbols to replace those imposed from 1948 to 1989.

Another snapshot: The apparent effort to restore the religious meaning of Saints Cyril and Methodius.

Another snapshot: in Banska Bystrica, the reworking of the text of the historical museum commemorating the Slovak National Uprising against the

Germans in 1944. The new texts restore the uprising to the Slovak people and those many nations that assisted them.

The recovery of memory in the Czech Republic: Masaryk is back. In Pilsen, in the brewery, taped to a wall next to a poster of John F. Kennedy and Vaclav Havel, a picture of Masaryk.

Other snapshots: In Wenceslas Square, before the statue of St. Wenceslas, a small memorial space to victims of communism as been created, a space so small that one might miss it given the commercial and tourist hustle of the Square. It seems not to be an official place, but it is a Catholic place: devotional candles burn, pictures of victims are placed with flowers on the ground, a list of all those who died is posted, though one must bend over close to make out the names. Among the names, Rudolf Slansky -- secretary-general of the Czechoslovak Communist party after 1945, the figure who led the ruthless purging of the state apparatus after February 1945 and who led the purge of Titoists and Slovak communists, Slansky the Jew who spent the war years in the USSR -- who was executed in the purges of the early 1950s. Elsewhere in Prague, a square named for Jan Palach, the student who burned himself to death in 1969 to protest the Soviet invasion in August 1968.

This too remains a subject for further study. One is here tempted to ask: are the Czechs and Slovaks recovering a common memory upon which to build a common future? Will these democratic victors now write a different kind of history? How will the collective memories of the past, on which national identities are built, be affected by the western present and future that is so in evidence on the streets, in the factories, in the schools, in the bookstores of a Czechoslovakia in transition?

Final Reflection

Timothy Garton Ash (in The Magic Lantern) writes: "The ice had thawed. After twenty years, the clocks had started again in Prague. The most Western of all the so-called East European countries was resuming its proper history." In 1991, one can endorse the optimism of Garton Ash's judgment, but it is more difficult to endorse the judgment. Until the final resolution of the Czech-Slovak question, one cannot be sure what the course of Czech and Slovak history will be. And even if Czechs and Slovaks come to live in a common state, it is far from certain that Slovakia, product of a different history, will resume the "western" history of its Czech neighbors.

November 1991.